

# PEACE NEWS

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2d.

## DEMOCRACY AND WAR

### Can We Defend Our Liberties By Force?

"TO MAKE EUROPE SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY"

That was one of the attractive slogans of the Great War.

Twenty years after that calamitous conflict we find two-thirds of the people of Europe—some 360,000,000 souls—living, not in democracies, but under dictatorships more powerful and more ruthless than any that have existed since the days of Caesar.

#### "TO DEFEND DEMOCRACY"

The call is heard again today. Have we any assurance that another war would succeed where the last one failed?

That is the urgent question answered here

By WILFRED WELLOCK

THE least defensible of the reasons submitted for the apparently endless armaments expansion is that it is necessary to preserve democracy.

The simple fact is that our democracy, as such, is not threatened from without. Germany and Italy are too deeply concerned with their own internal economic and psychological situation even to dream of extending their ideological systems either to this country or to France. For a very long time to come the dictators of both these countries will have as much as they can do to keep an even keel in the troubled waters they are likely to encounter without worrying about us.

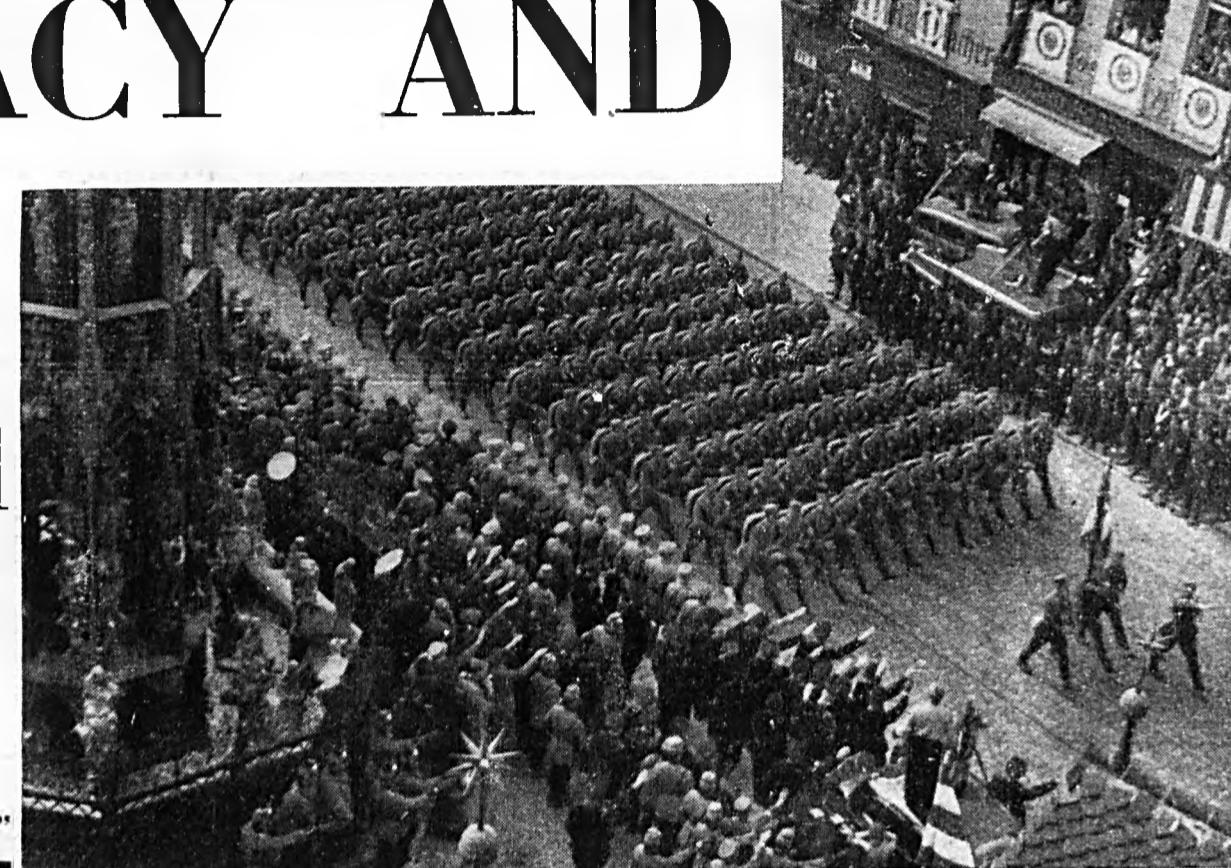
Besides, it is now accepted as a fact beyond dispute that no powerful modern State can be so completely conquered as to be ruled by another Power. Germany was as completely conquered in 1918 as any big Power is ever likely to be, yet neither France nor Britain dared, at the end of a conflict which had badly battered them both, even contemplate the prospect of governing Germany.

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#### The Goose Step . . .

symbolic of regimentation and militarism, the two indispensable requirements of modern war. Modern war poses a dilemma for democrats: shall they, to "defend" liberty and democracy, surrender themselves to totalitarianism, since without regimentation they cannot fight? This is the problem discussed by Wilfred Wellock in the adjacent article.



## 500,000 Demand New World Conference

THOUGH it is not yet known how many people signed the National Petition for a New Peace Conference, which closed on Saturday, it is stated that at least half a million signatures have been obtained. The final figures may well prove to be considerably higher.

The interest aroused by the Petition is shown by the fact that, although the organized collection of signatures has been limited to the British Isles, completed forms have been received from India, Kenya, Australia and New Zealand. In the British Isles forms have been received from the Scilly Isles and from the village of Unst in the Shetlands—northernmost point of the kingdom.

#### NEXT STEPS

While the huge task of counting the signatures is proceeding, plans are being completed for the next steps in the campaign for a world conference to deal with the causes of war.

The results of the Petition will be announced at a demonstration in Queen's Hall, London, tomorrow week (March 18). The demonstration will start at 7.45 p.m. The Bishop of Chelmsford will preside and short speeches will be made by leading sponsors of the Petition, including Mr. George Lansbury, MP, Dr. Cyril Bailey (Public Orator of Oxford University), Mr. H. H. Elvin, Miss E. M. Tanner (Headmistress of Roedean School), and Miss Vera Brittain. The Fleet Street Choir will sing. Admission will be free, but tickets for reserved seats can be obtained if early application is made to the National Peace Council, 39 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

Mayors of several towns in various parts of the country have announced their intention to support the meeting.

The Prime Minister is expected to receive a deputation with the Petition on March 20, and a special emissary will seek an interview with President Roosevelt early next month. It is hoped that deputations to MPs will be arranged in at least 300 constituencies.

The Petition has been promoted by the National Peace Council, with the help of the Peace Pledge Union and over forty other national organizations.

#### PALESTINE— The Price Of "Order"

THE following information regarding destruction of lives and property in Palestine has been given in written replies by the Colonial Office to questions asked two months ago by Mr. Cecil Wilson, MP:

##### 1. Number of houses destroyed by order of the Government

(a) Since May, 1936, until end of 1938: 1,024.

(b) During 1938: 681.

##### 2. Amount imposed in collective fines on towns and villages:

(a) Since May, 1936, until end of 1938: 36,692 Palestine pounds.

(b) During 1938: 13,721 Palestine pounds.

##### (c) Number of towns and villages involved: 234.

##### 3. Casualties:

(a) Since May, 1936, until end of 1938:

	Killed	Wounded
Arabs	752	1459
Jews	367	783
European civilians	25	25
Military	98	226

(b) During 1938:

	Killed	Wounded
Arabs	503	598
Jews	255	390
European civilians	14	16
Military	63	200

##### 4. Number of death sentences imposed:

(a) Since May, 1936, until end of 1938: Arabs, 75; Jews, 2.

(b) During 1938: Arabs, 63; Jews, 2.

##### 5. Life sentences imposed:

(a) Since May, 1936, until end of 1938: Arabs, 50; Jews, 3.

(b) During 1938: Arabs, 35; Jews, 3.

##### 6. Number in custody from May, 1936, until December, 1938:

Arabs convicted	1,185
Arabs unconvicted	490
Jews convicted	88
Jews unconvicted	10
Number detained (usually in concentration camps without trial) under emergency regulations:	
Arabs	1,814
Jews	41

(Continued on page 5)

## THE WEEK IN PARLIAMENT



### Communists' Role in Spain Arms "Squandermania"

By James Hudson

**M**ISTER ATTLEE'S personal attack on the Prime Minister last week was but a barometric indication of disturbed political weather. Much has been made of the incident both over the wireless and in the press. It is certainly unusual for a leader of the Opposition to tell a Prime Minister to speak the truth.

Something must be allowed for greatly wrenching feelings. The Opposition, moved by generous sentiments of sympathy for what it imagined to be a democratic people fighting with its back to the wall against a combination of feudal, militaristic and ecclesiastical tyranny and of fascist intervention, espoused the cause of the Spanish Government.

Stimulated by the Communists droning slogans such as "Arms for Spain" the Labour Party has genuinely wanted to get into the Spanish mix-up from the beginning. Mr. Herbert Morrison thought he had scored a good point over his Cripps' interrupters in Trafalgar Square when he told them that he had wanted to intervene in Spain before they had dared to suggest it.

The Opposition have been on the wrong tack throughout the whole of the Spanish storm. They are now driven close to a cruel lee shore which affords no shelter. They ought to have seen from the commencement that if working people embark on the business of wholesale human butchery, others may inscribe democratic slogans on their banners but they can have no application in the ultimate conduct of their military leaders.

In war, one defends neither democracy nor the workers. A bayonet is a weapon with a worker at each end.

Someone must be made the scapegoat for the great discomfort in which both Liberals and Labour now find themselves about Spain. And that is about all there is in Mr. Attlee's personal attack on Mr. Chamberlain.

### Pacifist Support for Demands of Unemployed

"**M**Y interest in unemployment springs from my faith and from my pacifism which I also profess," said Dr. Donald O. Soper at a public meeting in Limehouse Town Hall called by the Poplar and Stepney Association against Unemployment on Tuesday night.

"Those who believe in pacifism," he added, "ought to stand by anyone who tries to get economic justice by non-violent means. I believe this world is sick to death of trying to get justice by the bayonet."

Tom Mann, who will be 83 next month, demanded first the provision of the minimum needs of the unemployed, and secondly a reduction in working hours.

The reasons for the adoption of the methods used recently to draw attention to the needs of the unemployed were explained by Wal Hannington, who, as secretary of the National Unemployed Workers' Movement, has been responsible for them.

Just as workers laid down their tools as a protest, so the unemployed, being not allowed to use tools, laid down their bodies "to stop the works."

The speaker exposed the false impression given by the Government statement that of the two million unemployed only about 300,000 had been unemployed for more than six weeks, pointing out that a man was put in the under-six-weeks category as soon as he lost a job even though it may have been a three-days casual job obtained after many months of unemployment.

"The whole tragedy of unemployment," said Father St. John B. Grosier, "is that it tends to destroy the whole sense of being of value to the community."

A resolution was carried unanimously demanding:

(a) Immediate financial support from the Government in the form of block grants to local authorities for constructive and productive public works.

(b) Benefit adequate to support the unemployed and their families above the poverty line,

and asking that the Minister of Labour and Unemployment Assistance Board receive a deputation from the Association to present their Petition supporting the demands.

**B**UT the situation is rapidly getting very much worse for the Opposition and for the Liberal and Labour newspapers. The news from Spain, as I write these notes on Tuesday, will force a complete re-orientation in the political outlook of Labour and the Liberals, or they will be wiped out.

If it be true, as seems likely, that in the end a new Government has had to force the Communists out of the arena before it was possible to stop the fratricidal struggle in Spain, the reprobation which the world has justly accorded to Franco for his part in the proceedings can scarcely be less than that earned by the Communists.

Had the Oppositions at any time taken any public part in urging the Armistice which I have been pleading for in these notes, they would now be in a less hopeless political situation. *Experientia docet* but at what a cost!

### Going, Going . . .

**I**T will hardly be credited, unless readers have read the Parliamentary reports for themselves, that the Opposition put up a real hefty fight about the sale of the British Embassy in Vienna. You have got for it, they exclaimed to the Government, only the price of an old song.

The Embassy cost £39,000 in 1873. Nobody wants it now. There must have been a good deal of wear and tear since then. And, in any case, nobody is able to sell real property in the Greater Reich and

take the whole of the purchase price away with them.

Thus the Government did not do so badly when they secured £9,000 in cash beside a further sum left on the deal. But His Majesty's faithful Commons were deeply pained about it.

### Britain's Burden

**T**HE Army Estimates are up 40 percent, the Navy Estimates by 15 percent; the Air Estimates are doubled. The "defense" estimates for the new financial year amount to £580 millions. Last Monday, the Chancellor of the Exchequer told the House in asking for the right to borrow another £400 millions that "the nation believed we could and would shoulder the burden."

A nation that can believe such a thing while it thrusts another £400 millions of its own burden on to the shoulders of future generations will believe anything. But the dutiful Commons were gravely disturbed about losing a hypothetical pound or two on a derelict Embassy.

For his stimulation of stupid speculation a Chancellor of the Exchequer was sent to the Tower in the days of the South Sea Bubble. I know no valid reason why the present Chancellor should avoid the same penalty for the intolerable squandermania which he has stimulated unless it be that there would scarcely be room in the Tower for the rest of the dutiful Commons who have earned the right to accompany him there.

## From the Editor's Notebook

### Storm Jameson's New Book News of P.P.U. Sponsors Eighty Candles

**I**NTRODUCING her new book, *Civil Journey*, which Messrs. Cassell published this week, MARGARET STORM JAMESON (who writes on page 6 of this issue) says:

To tell you my mind about it—and speaking for my friends who were alive and are dead—I hold that a writer should not in any circumstances or for any cause surrender his duty to criticize and to inquire freely into the soundness of any idea, faith, doctrine, delivered to him by the mouth of authority. Of any authority.

She calls the introduction "Apology for my Life," but judging from a notice of the book (this is not supposed to be a review—I hope we shall publish that later) that title better describes the book's contents. These are a medley of essays, lectures, and articles. Between them they constitute, in effect, at least the fragments of an autobiography.

### From Factory to Parliament

**A**NOTHER Sponsor of the Peace Pledge Union who contributes to this week's issue is WILFRED WELLOCK. He began work at the age of ten in a factory, where, by the time he was 13, he was working full-time—with all that that meant in the nineties. He has subsequently been a lecturer and journalist, as well as Labour Member of Parliament for the Stourbridge division.

### Trouble in the Camp

**I**T was appropriate that the first use of the new headquarters of the Peace Pledge Union was made on Friday (with the decorators still in) by the Sponsors for their monthly meeting. Our minds were taken back to the Union's very first offices by news of MARGERY MUMFORD, whom the first organizers of groups knew as Margery Rayne, then secretary.

It was not good news, unfortunately, as she had had a fall while riding (a favourite recreation of hers) and dislocated two vertebrae, cracked another, and broken a fourth. It was not so bad as it sounds, however, though she has only just been freed from the irksomeness of having to be perfectly still for three weeks.

I heard, by the way—not at the Sponsors'

meeting but at the recent staff dinner of the printers of this paper, where CECIL HEATH was a fellow-guest—that DR. ALFRED SALTER had had a setback in his recovery from his illness of last autumn. Though he has been kept from the House of Commons for a fortnight, he is, however, picking up again now.

### Off to America

**O**OTHER news of Sponsors includes that of two who are going to the United States. CANON RAVEN, who is there by now, and who has gone to lecture, has just been appointed Master of Christ's College, Cambridge.

DR. A. HERBERT GRAY will be going shortly as a participant in the yearly exchange of preachers arranged by the World Alliance for International Friendships Through the Churches. He and other ministers of various denominations will take the place of a like number of American ministers who will be coming to this country for a short time.

### The Sponsors Celebrated

**A**T their meeting on Friday, the Sponsors had cake with their tea; but they first had to extract from it 80 candles! For GEORGE LANSBURY was not to be allowed (as he put it) to forget his years. (The cake, by the way, was made by the Westcliff group leader, MR. LONG—and very good it was!)

"The opportunity of celebrating GEORGE LANSBURY's birthday in his own street seemed too good to miss," writes Miss M. S. BRADLEY, secretary of the East End Pacifist Council, which is running a Lansbury "No More War" Shop at 308 Mile End Road from March 13 to 25, with a speaker and discussion each evening.

### Just a Rumour

**A**REPORTER of the *Daily Express* told his 2½ million readers last week that he "learned" that "ETHEL MANNIN, the novelist, has been asked to become a parliamentary candidate." How he learned it

## MR. LANSBURY APPEALS TO THE POPE

**I**N a letter to the Pope last week Mr. George Lansbury urged the calling of a conference of the religious leaders of the world, to meet in Jerusalem at Easter.

Mr. Lansbury wrote:

Your Holiness, may I most respectfully and sincerely thank your Holiness for your broadcast appeal to the nations on behalf of peace.

Your voice and words came over the air breathing peace to a world stricken with the palsy of fear, hatred and self-destruction.

Will you kindly bear with me while I make an appeal to you to carry your message of love, peace and good will a step further.

I have met face to face most of the leading statesmen of the world. Everyone of these great men acknowledges that unless the present arms race and reliance on brute force are ended, the result will be universal destruction.

Unfortunately, no one will take his courage in both hands and fling out to the world the challenging call—"Come, let us reason together."

Consequently, I am constrained to appeal to your Holiness, as in August, 1935, I appealed to your universally-revered predecessor, that you will without delay call upon the religious leaders of the world, including the leaders of Judaism, immediately to meet you in conference to discuss in what way pressure may be brought upon the statesmen of the world to cease this insane march to destruction.

I am confident that if your Holiness could call such a conference at Easter to assemble in Jerusalem and from the Mount of Olives could, on behalf of the conference, send out such a call in the name of our Heavenly Father and His blessed Son, the call would be responded to.

My proposal may not in the judgment of your Holiness be the best way of approach.

All I am concerned about is that now, before it is too late, the entire voice of religion shall be heard by statesmen.

### Sudeten Germans for Canada

With the assistance of part of the British refugee loan to Czechoslovakia, 800 families are to go to Canada, where they will find a Sudeten-German village. They will be led by Herr Jaksch, leader of the German Social-Democratic Party in the Czechoslovak Parliament, and by another former leading deputy.

"Peace News" Offices,  
3, Blackstock Road,  
London, N.4

**A**FRIEND who has been sending *Peace News* to someone in Germany with whom he corresponds told me last weekend that his German friend did not like the things we said about dictatorships. He is a near-Nazi, I understand, yet apart from that criticism he thinks the views of this newspaper are sound.

I told my friend he was not the only one (though it would be quite misleading to suggest there are many) whose German correspondents thought we were too hard on nazism and fascism. But I advised him to reply that there are those of our British readers (and possibly more of our ex-readers!) who are more or less convinced that we are pro-fascist.

It might at least help him to see at any rate that there's another point of view!

H. S. M.

### The War Resister

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WRITE FOR OTHER LITERATURE AND INFORMATION OF THE WORK.

## Censorship in Palestine

Revelations of the press censorship system in Palestine were made by Gershon Agronsky, editor of the *Palestine Post*, when he was interviewed by a *World's Press News* representative.

"I guess you must know plenty about it," he said; "it's limited to the rebellions, and we're forbidden, the same as everybody else in Palestine, to print any reports of casualties, deaths, or rioting unless it comes through the official police bulletins—and we love the word 'official,' too."

"When the bulletins come in we're allowed to make a story out of it by including names and addresses of injured people if the bulletin doesn't give them and if our reporters can get them—which the police don't object to. But it is (sic) requested of us that the wording of the bulletins is not altered, though we rarely run one as we get it."

"We usually have a sheaf of good stories awaiting official OK, and when the bare skeleton appears in the bulletin we do the best with our own stuff and that. But no description of what took place or any eye-witness stories can appear—except the bare results."

## FREEDOM FOR INDIA IN TWO YEARS?

From Our Correspondent

Santiniketan, Bengal.

February 24.

SANTINIKETAN, the ashram and university of Rabindranath Tagore, has had a very busy month. Three eminent politicians, Subhas Chandra Bose, re-elected President of the Indian National Congress, Pandit Nehru and Dr. Rajendra Prasad, both members of what has hitherto been the most powerful group in India, the Congress Working Committee, have paid visits to the ageing but active poet. During their stay at the little oasis of learning and culture in the wildest part of Bengal they delivered speeches to the members of the ashram and welcomed questions.

I tried to form a picture of the current Indian attitude from the speeches of these leaders, questions put to them, and also from a long interview with Rabindranath Tagore.

### FREE IN TWO YEARS?

Everybody expects a major crisis in a month or two over the proposed Government of India Federation scheme, second part of the Constitution of 1935. The Congress and the Muslim League are unanimous in rejecting it, because "the impending Federation created by the British Imperialistic Government is detrimental in all ways to the good of India," as a recent village meeting somewhat naively expressed it. The same meeting "rejects it (Federation) totally, and is ready to court jail or death to give it a fight," and we shall not be far wrong if we take this to be typical of Indian sentiment.

Mr. Bose, with his famous "smile that wins," told us at Santiniketan that he does not consider it unlikely that India will be

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## Flemish Ex-Soldiers' Peace Plan

THE strength of the peace movement in other lands is not always realized here. It will come as a surprise to many, therefore, to learn that a Flemish ex-service men's peace organization, the VOS, has now branches in more than 600 Flemish towns.

These branches concern themselves with the following questions:—

(a) The rights and privileges of ex-service men of the war of 1914-18.

(b) The furtherance of the Flemish nationalist movement on non-partisan lines.

(c) The establishment of international peace founded upon disarmament, mutual understanding and confidence, and on a system of non-military defence of nationality and national values.

The VOS is in constant touch with its Foreign Office. Its government agrees with all its proposals except the suggestion that any invasion of their territory should not be answered by military methods.

### HUGE PILGRIMAGE

The circulation of a weekly paper published by the VOS increases satisfactorily. Each year the VOS organizes, in conjunction with a special ad hoc committee, a

# How Munich Destroyed The Case For War

## STATESMEN PLACE PEACE ABOVE "NATIONAL HONOUR"

From a Paris Correspondent

DURING the September crisis, while the peoples were not in favour of war, while for the first time in modern history as a result of pacifist propaganda it was impossible for either governmental group to incite war-fever, there was one stupefying phenomenon.

In spite of great inner aversion from hatefulness of war, and a full understanding of its uselessness, the people got ready for war. They obeyed the mobilization order. The men who mobilized left wives and children and allowed themselves to be shipped or transported to the boundaries like cattle to the mutual mass-execution of capital punishment . . . to the very things they all abhorred.

This is one of the greatest failures of international pacifism, not to be overlooked, but to be reckoned with in the future. It proves that the only propaganda which contains real enlightenment is that which teaches the people to understand government and its rôle in war.

If we are to believe as high an authority as Lord Halifax on October 24, the circumstance which chiefly avoided war was:

The unanimous revolt of simple folk in all countries at the idea that their leaders might in fact be leading them up a road of which the end was the abyss.

### Socialists Miss the Point

Let us not be mistaken about one thing: If we pacifists know how to make use of the event of the Munich conference, then a new epoch has started with the Munich settlement.

**In order to overcome war we must be clear about the way war can alone be overcome.**

Unfortunately not all who would draw the proper lessons from the recent events are really clear about them. Thus, we see in France, for instance, that the Social-Democratic Federation is by no means learning the proper lesson.

This federation of Social-Democracy (SFIO), led by Léon Blum, approves of the policy of rearmament. Instead of rejecting war as impotent to right any wrong—even statesmen must confess it—this party, which claims primarily to represent the interests of the French workers, affirms the ultimate necessity of war.

The tragic and anti-social standpoint of Léon Blum becomes somewhat comprehensible if we follow his reasoning as to the inevitability of war for the workers when a certain point is reached. Thus his words in an article entitled "The Socialist Pacifism" (*Le Populaire*, October 29, 1938):

The formula 'Avoid nothing to save peace' cannot imply for us, for instance, passive submission in face of an invasion of our national soil, or in face of dismemberment of the State, or in face of enslavement of the people.

Thus French socialism, as also international socialism, excludes absolute pacifism.

Thus there are circumstances and situations in which a nation, or the proletariat, finds itself in a position to admit the risk of war . . . without any differences of opinion, in all the cases I have already quoted—i.e., in the case of an aggression against the national soil, or the independence of the State, or the liberties of the citizens.

It is a well-known fact that when governments want to start a war, at the behest of the international war industry, or in order to uphold their power, internally or externally, they always give all these causes for a war as being invoked.

Mark well, M. Blum wrote the article from which I have quoted after the downfall of Czechoslovakia.

This is very important because it proves his blindness and that of all apologists for war among the workers, or their leaders, as well as among the conservatives and usual bourgeois defenders of war. None of them perceive that their arguments in favour of war become sheerest nonsense in the light of the Munich settlement.

### No Longer Justified

With most glaring clarity the Munich settlement shows:

1. Neither Mr. Chamberlain nor M. Daladier, but also not Dr. Benes or Stalin, put either the actual case of an aggression against the national soil; or the menace of such aggression; the integrity of the national territory; or the independence of the State (viz. the government); or the liberties of the citizens, higher and above the elements of peace.

**They have thereby entirely destroyed the case for war for every country. The principles of peace were to them higher and dearer than anything else.**

Here we have before us an historic example of far-reaching importance. In every case where the Socialist Blum has declared war to be absolutely necessary for a people, two non-socialists and one social democratic statesman have, by words and deeds, rejected war as an unjustifiable solution.

2. Dr. Benes accepted the invasion of his fatherland, his nation, the dismemberment of the national soil and of the government, *rather than declare war*. From what motives he acted is immaterial. The fact remains that war was no solution to him.

3. The whole working class of the Czechoslovak Republic acted absolutely contrary—but more wisely—to the advices and assumptions of M. Blum as to what was solely possible.

The Munich conference has taught the whole world a never-to-be-forgotten lesson that there are higher things than nationalism, patriotism, national honour, &c., namely, peace, the lives of human beings. The conference has proved "It is a greater honour to live for peace than to die for war."

### Easter Youth Camp

An Easter camp is being organized by Youth House and will be held at "Colliette," Brasted, near Sevenoaks, Kent, from April 6 to 10. A similar camp was held at the same place last Easter.

Each day there will be a ramble, and in the evenings campers will entertain themselves with sing-songs, story-telling and discussions round a camp fire.

Everyone will take an equal share in the work of the camp, either orderly duty for a meal, or packing sandwiches, or leading a ramble, and it is this spirit of cooperation and help for others which is expected to make the holiday a success.

The cost, which will be 16s. 6d. (2s. less to members or international guests who book before March 27), will be inclusive of all food (vegetarian), tent and ground-sheet, three blankets, straw palliases, and other necessary equipment but excludes tea on excursions. The stock of blankets is not big and it is hoped that as many as possible will take their own. Reductions will be allowed for those who do this.

If the camp is sufficiently well supported the organizers hope to entertain several Austrian refugee friends.

Bookings should be sent to, and details are obtainable from the Camp Secretary, Youth House, 250, Camden Road, London, N.W.1.

## NEWS FROM ABROAD

## American Women Want Cooperation For Peace

THE fourteenth conference on "The Cause and Cure of War," organized by the Peace and Disarmament Committee of the Women's International Organizations, and held in Washington recently, marked another step forward in the progress of this group of eleven national women's organizations as a recognized force in the US in the field of international affairs. The conference was attended by more than 500 delegates from all sections of the country.

The conference this year recommended "continued emphasis on the necessity for the cooperation of the US with other nations to eliminate war and to establish and maintain peace with justice."

Among the policies which the conference recommended member organizations to support were the following:

1. Continuance of the present reciprocal trade agreements programme.

2. Consultation, in the event of war or threat of war, with other signatories of anti-war treaties, to determine a basis for peaceful settlement; and provision for the adoption of financial and economic measures designed to withhold aid from treaty-violators.

3. Utilization of the conference method to deal with specific international questions, such as economic adjustments, reduction of armaments, protection of minorities.

4. Expansion of the cooperation of the United States with the League of Nations.

## Dutch Ban on Pacifists

A recent proclamation by the Dutch Government that no person holding any public office may belong to a pacifist organization has drawn protests from a peace organization, ANVA (Algemeene Nederlandse Vredes Actie).

Members of this body are studying non-violent resistance and plans for non-violent defence. In addition plans are in hand for helping Jewish refugees.

At ARP demonstrations protests are made and audiences warned of the real significance of ARP.

## International Friendship in Ilford

A committee in Ilford (Essex), headed by the Mayor, Councillor C. A. Farman, wants to invite a party of about 25 people from a town in Germany to be their guests in Ilford for eight or nine days.

Members of the Peace Pledge Union and of the Methodist Peace Fellowship are to the fore in the hospitality movement. The PPU group have themselves guaranteed hospitality for six visitors.

Churches peace organizations and ratepayers' associations are all represented on the committee, and if the scheme is successful it will be extended to other nationalities.

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## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

# Pacifists and the Fascist Threat

## Reaching the Unconverted

WITH certain stated or concealed motives, it is now clear that the Left and Right political parties in this country are prepared to carry out extensive rearmament and the protective requirements necessitated by the "we're all in it now" nature of modern warfare. It means, therefore, that war is not so much the desire of, as accepted as a definite possibility by, a government of the Left or Right. It also means that fascism, in some form or other, is becoming inevitable.

The Right, which no doubt has its tongue in its cheek when it declares that rearmament is essential in defence of our democracy and the preservation of peace, will introduce fascism because it sees in fascism the best chance of maintaining capitalism which is more and more exhibiting its fundamental defects but which gives its supporters their wealth and much valued power. The right may, however, have to fight a defensive imperialistic war with another fascist State, or possibly with an anti-capitalist State, and so rearmament is necessary.

The Left, in their zeal to overthrow fascism wish to make quite certain that this country is superior in arms to fascist aggressors, but overlooks the fact that it would be imperative for its government so to regiment the whole life of the people, especially that of its working-class supporters, that the very principles which our superior force was intended to defend would disappear.

It is with this inevitability of fascism that pacifists from now onward will be grimly confronted.

Pacifists, in common with many other people, must have reacted strongly against fascism as a political and social system. Nevertheless they should not give up one bit of their principle and must be prepared, if necessary, to take the long view and accept fascism, knowing that to resist it by force will not only not get rid of it but will only serve to keep it alive.

If it is fundamentally true that anything which is an evil must, in the end, disappear or destroy itself (without necessarily destroying humanity) then we shall have to be prepared to undergo the treatment which, as pacifists, will be meted out to us by a fascist government. This can be done without any sense of martyrdom, and above all we should remember that although our beliefs have a moral root, they have grown and gained strength through reason and thought and we should avoid, at all times, the appearance of moral superiority.

It is no solution now merely to offer political opposition to fascism. Man is up against something far greater and far more devastating than political faction. He is facing not only physical annihilation but complete intellectual and moral defeat.

Success against those forces can no longer be found in politics which are now only another of the available means of satisfying self-interest and the lust for power. The real and only chance of victory against himself, against what is his own doing, is for man to find again his fidelity to those spiritual and moral beliefs which through many generations he has professed but seldom applied.

J. R. MUGGERIDGE.  
47, Gwalior House, Chase Road, Southgate, N.14.

### "War Mongers"

Now that we have finished our house-to-house canvass on the National Petition, here is a scheme for following up the more likely contacts made through the collection of signatures.

Canvassers have, no doubt, come across several households where the petition was welcomed and signatures given gladly. These are the people whom we should now take pains to present with a clear statement of the pacifist case, such as that contained in Clive Bell's *War Mongers*.

Far more is likely to be achieved by the method of sending a good, thoughtful booklet to a "picked" household, singled out for personal endeavour, than by a wholesale distribution of leaflets in the hope that some recipient may take the trouble to get in touch with those responsible for such distribution.

S. C. W. GILL.  
Winsford, 55 Pembury Avenue, Worcester Park, Surrey.

IT is literally impossible to publish all the letters we receive.

Other things being equal, letters of not more than 200 words stand the best chance of publication.

### War and Bankruptcy

ALTHOUGH peacemakers naturally desire to believe everything bad which is possible about war, it is important that they should not cherish any illusions, but should clearly understand the truth, in regard to the relations between war and bankruptcy.

In one sense it is true to say that a nation cannot become financially bankrupt, seeing that there is no limit to the amount of money it can keep on producing.

It can only become bankrupt in regard to real wealth, i.e. desired goods and services, and even that is not easy, for resources in raw materials, &c., are immense and, in some directions, for many centuries to come, apparently limitless; while every year fresh scientific discoveries are enabling us to exploit more thoroughly the vast resources of nature.

Leaving out of consideration for the moment all moral questions and the risk of war, and considering the matter purely from an economic standpoint, armaments, under the present system with its faulty monetary technique and insistence that incomes shall depend upon employment, can

only cause economic harm to a nation in so far as the diversion of labour and material to the making of the instruments of war creates an actual shortage of labour and materials for the production of real wealth; and in so far as the inability of the ordinary industries of the country to produce an increase of desired goods and services to back and give value to the money created for financing non-wealth armaments, leads to the phenomenon of true inflation, i.e., a state of affairs where a proportion of the nation's money is not backed by real wealth.

As long as the diversion of labour and materials to armament making still leaves enough for the ordinary industries, and as long as the latter are able, by increased output, to back the new money created by armament loans; no bankruptcy, financial or otherwise, need result. At any moment also a government possessed of financial intelligence could carry out its armament programme without fresh debt being incurred.

TAVISTOCK.

Barrington House, Haywards Heath, Sussex.

### Pacifist "Ultimatums" to Labour Candidates

WITH reference to Mr. Wheate's (*Peace News*, March 3) letter concerning the Labour Party and rearmament, I sympathize with him in the difficult dilemma he has apparently experienced, and I hate heresy-hunting sufficiently not to criticize his personal action of telling the Labour candidate his policy would lose a vote.

In putting my personal view, which I know is supported by others in the Peace Pledge Union, and also liable to criticism from PPU ex-Labour folk among others, I do so only to put the other side of this difficult case, now that it has been broached.

To my mind it is short-sighted in most cases to deliver ultimatums to Labour candidates, as it is liable to put the pacifist in an unreal and slightly hypocritical light. In the long run Labour policy is that of the rank and file, and in the short run the candidate is the rank and file's choice. Many feel that true pacifism and socialism are identical, and even if it is not today it should be; but it has been left to a comparatively small body of "Pacifist Socialists" to carry on this belief in practice, sometimes under criticism from both sides.

If more pacifists were to give some of their time to the Labour Party, they would be effectively helping in part of Labour's hundred percent pacifist home policy (apart from ARP); at the same time they would have earned the right to put pacifism over internally, which is liable to give our case a more sympathetic and sincere hearing than from outside letters. Most Labour members do not know the first thing of the working-class aspect of pacifism (to my mind our biggest and least heard contribution), and in my experience are willing to listen when the aspect is put over at the relevant moment.

I do not know if Mr. Wheate is a Labour man, but if he and a sufficient number of his friends joined his local party, they would have the majority to set up a prospective candidate not only for the Labour Party, but also for the gallant Parliamentary Pacifist Group.

I hope I will not be accused of rigidity when I say that though franchise abstention holds a very definite case for pacifists, I feel that sometimes it can satisfy the personal conscience at the cost of putting reactionary elements in power. Though I could not attack pacifists out of hand who possibly out of bewilderment vote for "Chamberlain and Peace," I think some of them might hesitate if they realized the possibility of it being his party's post-war record of mistakes and muddle and secret treaties which laid the foundations for the September crisis.

As a pacifist and a socialist, I suppose I would be the first to criticize the way Labour appears to be heading on general foreign policy and their dangerous, militant outlook, but I would remind non-party members that the policy of a party in opposition, in office and in power are three different phases (Labour has never been in power); and also that we have only to look at the Parliamentary Pacifist Group to realize that some of our oldest and most sincere pacifists, helped by the conscience clause to withstand the charge of disloyalty, are daily propagating our gospel in a sphere of life which is probably most under the public eye.

In conclusion, though I do not necessarily subscribe to the opinion that an isolated world con-

ference without a tremendous amount of preparation would be a success, nevertheless I do feel that voting for Labour, rather than abstention or hostile vote, might promise a better possibility of the eventual pooling of the world's economic resources which most of us would so like to see.

PHILIP H. SAINT.  
35, Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.1.

### "National Service"

I would like to suggest to pacifists as an alternative to National Service for military purposes this national service that can be carried on at all times. I suggest that pacifist groups, aided by any and all who will, render service to families in their areas who need it—such services as helping harassed mothers in the home in the evenings with the housework or helping fathers. In every district there are poor families whose members are all over-worked, who have little or no leisure, who only just achieve economic security, who have no time either to be or to think.

When the ordinary, everyday people have time to think and implement their reasoned desires the world may hope for some measure of peace.

The work would not be conducted with any propaganda aims, but simply to give these people a little of the rest and help them so badly need.

I would like to hear from any group that may try the scheme. Any readers in the Twickenham area who are interested in the proposal might communicate with me.

NORAH MORPHEW.  
29 Campbell Road, Twickenham, Middlesex.

### The Social System

Mrs. Haigh (*Peace News*, March 3) thinks a fresh inquiry into the evils of the present system is long-overdue because the conditions of life have changed considerably since Henry George wrote *Progress and Poverty*. If she had read this book carefully she would understand that human nature and economic laws do not change with the changing conditions of life.

The truth that Henry George taught—that land is the source of all wealth and that the conditions of life depend on the terms of access to land—is as old as humanity itself, and no modern customs or inventions can change it.

The answer to the assertion that Henry George's remedy for social wrongs—land restoration by means of land values taxation—is not acceptable to the public, is that it is in partial operation in many parts of the dominions and elsewhere, and that a small measure reached the British Statute Book in 1931. The justice of this policy in the guarantee of its ultimate success, but its slow progress is at least partly due to the neglect of fundamentals by men and women of good will who follow every new will-of-the-wisp which promises a quick solution of the evils they deplore.

ARTHUR H. WELLER.  
98 Sandy Lane, Manchester, 21.

I WAS at the meeting held by the Peace Pledge Union in Friends House last Friday. Fine as the meeting undoubtedly was, it was to some extent spoilt for me by the suspicion that the audience consisted almost entirely of pacifists.

I believe this matter to be of the utmost importance; i.e., to get non-pacifists to our meetings. The problem is a familiar one, and must be a difficult one, since in all organizations it seems comparatively easy to gather adherents together and extremely difficult to attract the indifferent or those of the opposite view.

I have been wondering whether small groups could be formed to discuss this matter, and to try to find some way of ensuring that our speakers shall not speak so often to meetings consisting largely of those already converted to pacifism. Our speakers present the case so convincingly that the hearers, if not immediately won over, could not fail to be impressed, and certainly could not think of pacifism as the negative and woolly doctrine it is often represented to be.

A. L. PARKER.

15 Abercorn Place, N.W.8.

### Britain Reminded Of Her Christian Principles

ADDRESSING a meeting in Springfield Hall, New Southgate, on Wednesday of last week, organized by the New Southgate meeting of the Society of Friends, John Stephens, who was a lecturer in English in several German Universities just after the War, reminded his audience that this country, unlike its neighbours, calls itself a Christian country. We had, however, sinned against the very principles which we as a Christian nation believed to be the right ones.

Today we were witnessing the very results of our power in 1918 and 1919. Many felt that the preparations for war, which we were now taking part in, were rapidly undermining democracy and in the end would bring us into war.

#### "Prophetic Witness" Needed

"Don't let us forget," Mr. Stephens said, "that we are moving to a great end—the Kingdom of Righteousness." One of the greatest needs today was for prophetic witness—the belief that there was another way.

Charles Derring, warden of a Friends' Settlement in Forest Gate, London, said that one of the greatest dangers which was coming to the world was coming not from the Nazis, Communists, or Fascists but from those hordes of people who were being driven out of their countries—"the population on the run." The world was filling up with human beings whose faith in humanity had been broken.

"It is up to us who call ourselves Christians to get to work and show how we can sow seeds of peace rather than seeds of war," he said.

### More Talks on War Resistance Abroad

The following further informative group talks have been arranged by the War Resisters' International Group of Speakers:

March 13, HORNSEY;	Stanley Cooper.
" 13, POPLAR;	Sydney P. Larcombe.
" 17, MUSWELL HILL;	H. Runham Brown.
" 19, ROCHDALE;	Alfred T. Stone.
" 21, GROVE PARK;	Eric T. Roach.
" 21, BETHNAL GREEN;	Stanley Cooper.
" 21, NEASDEN;	Mabel Baker.
" 22, BATH;	George H. Lockett.
" 29, HACKNEY;	Stanley Cooper.
April 6, WANDSWORTH;	Sydney Larcombe.

Any other groups in or near London, or in the Bristol or Manchester area, wishing to hear about the work for war resistance abroad, should communicate with:—Sydney P. Larcombe, Ridge Cottage, Wildernes Mount, Sevenoaks, Kent, or Grace M. Beaton, General Secretary, War Resisters' International, 11, Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

# CLIFFORD ALLEN

## A War-Time Colleague's Appreciation

Lord Allen of Hurtwood, better known to the socialist and pacifist movements as Clifford Allen, died in Switzerland on Friday. He had been in poor health for some time, largely as a consequence of the privations he suffered during his war-time imprisonment.

Canon Stuart Morris, chairman of the Peace Pledge Union, announced Lord Allen's death at the public meeting in Friends House, London, reported on page seven, and paid a tribute to his work in the cause of peace. The following appreciation is by one of his war-time colleagues.

By JOHN P. FLETCHER

MY last association with Allen of Hurtwood was when I arranged a "discussion" between him and Gerald Heard following Allen's criticism of the Peace Pledge Union by a long letter in the *Manchester Guardian*. Allen then was associating with the League of Nations Union and, recognising that the PPU was a formidable rival, pleaded that we should not criticize or quarrel with that body: that as pacifists we should work together.

He readily agreed to the discussion for he had great faith in his great ability in propaganda both by his pen and on the platform. No one can question his skill and energy. A short while before this his ability in conference made one pacifist leader say that he regarded Allen as the most dangerous man in the peace movement.

But those of us who worked with him in the days of the No Conscription Fellowship will always think of him with affection and admiration for the way in which he led us through those exciting days.

Those of us on the Executive Committee of the No Conscription Fellowship of which Clifford Allen was the unquestioned leader, were a group of young men of the average age of thirty: Allen himself being twenty-seven years old. When conscription was introduced on January 5, 1916, the Fellowship grew as fast in as few days and weeks as the Peace Pledge Union has grown in months.

There was not only the organization itself to plan, but the policy of the Fellowship to meet the policy of the Government determined to enforce conscription.

First, should we register our claim for exemption and appear before the Tribunals thus "recognizing" the right of the Government to conscript us? I was with the minority against claiming exemption. Second, should we support alternative service? Again I was in the minority and resigned from the committee.

### Valuable Leader

It is difficult for us now, even under the menace of this insensate rearmament, to realize the strength of feeling and intensity of purpose which we had in the No Conscription Fellowship. I know that I gave him as much trouble as anyone, but no-one valued Allen's leadership more than I did.

His task was to maintain the Fellowship as an effective organization, and this controversy on alternative service, which had lasted for six weeks, ended two days before five members of the Executive, A. Fenner Brockway, A. Barratt Brown, Walter Ayles, William J. Chamberlain and I were sent to Pentonville Prison for two months.

Ten days later Allen himself was taken into the Army. Probably this attack on the personnel of the Fellowship was a deliberate attempt to embarrass it.

Allen's skill in building the organization and his care in keeping all sections

## DEMOCRACY and WAR

(Continued from page 1.)

of which science and invention have given promise, will not emerge.

Thus, for reasons that are hidden from the public gaze, the freedom and future well-being of democracy are being rapidly buried under mountains of armaments the ostensible purpose of which is to defend democracy.

### Regimentation Everywhere

BUT even that fate, calamitous as it is, is a minor tragedy compared with other consequences, possible and probable. We all realize, of course, that if the big Powers do not reconcile their differences by agreement, war is inevitable sooner or later.

Now the legacy of every major war henceforth must be permanent totalitarianism, among other things—for two reasons: first, that the conduct of mechanized warfare, and the defence of the nation against the terrors of such warfare, demand the totalitarian organization of the State; second, that the condition of social, industrial, economic, and financial chaos which will unquestionably follow in the wake of such a war will insure the continuance and indeed the permanency of that organization. Hence totalitarianism will be the inevitable portion of every State which participates in the next major war.

But war may be avoided, you say. I agree, it may. Even so I do not believe that the policy that is resulting in these vast armaments, and in the militarization and organization for war of entire populations, will save us from totalitarianism. I think it probable that what we now know as the Big Four will patch up, at any rate for some time to come, the rents which we know will occur in international relations in the near future, at fairly regular intervals.

What this means is that Messrs. Chamberlain and Daladier will continue their policy of making concessions or permitting others to make them, under compulsion to the Fascist dictators without making the least attempt to get down to the roots of the trouble and to place international economic relations on a rational basis.

### Yet Another Canard?

In an article on the Secret Service which recounted some of the very same legends exposed on page 9 by Preston Benson, the *Sunday Express* declared that "it was in consequence of information gleaned in Germany three years ago that the British Government decided to provide us with gas-masks."

Now that the gas-masks are being allowed to deteriorate—instead of returned to store in nitrogen—has the Government discovered that the "information gleaned from Germany three years ago" was not so reliable as they first thought?

## How We Make Militarists In the Nursery

The author of this article is Lay Psychotherapist at the Individual Psychology Children's Advisory Centre, Friends House, London, N.W.1.

SIX hundred years before Christ a Chinese philosopher gave the sound advice: "Deal with things when they are small."

Most readers will agree that the feelings of fear, mistrust, aggression and wish to conquer are useless and harmful to a good living together, and that without them war would be impossible. But there is comparatively little attempt made to see the early causes of these feelings in each individual, and to deal with them in their two-and-three-year-old manifestations.

The chief reason for this pessimistic attitude is that most people are convinced that such emotions as lead to war are a necessary though regrettable component of human nature, which only centuries can eradicate. There is no better means of educating oneself out of this error than by working with children in Child Guidance work, and finding out what are essential qualities and what are mistakes arising out of the child's misinterpretation of life, and consequent lack of confidence in himself and others.

THE use of personal authority (the cause of all defiance and aggressiveness in the child) begins usually when the child is around two years of age and says "I." He becomes then very eager for this newly-found personality, this subject "I," to be recognized, no longer treated just as object, but respected and allowed to develop.

If parents are too much inclined to train and warn and by word or hand to make the child come "up" (really down) to their standards, they cannot help fighting the child in some way; and frequent emphatic "noes" at this age are a sign of pressure. The standard of life, the authority of life is better and safer.

But if the personal authority is too strong the child experiences life as a fight, and sees his only hope in learning to fight also his ideal would then be to have a greater force than is being used on him. Still more pressure, to make the child give up fighting the parents, can, if strong enough, turn him to passive resistance, often shown by such difficulties as sulking, shyness, fears, or the hidden fighting of bed-wetting, nail-biting, &c.

The best way to make a militarist is to fight a child when he is two or three years old—it can be done very lovingly as well as with threats and smacks; and it is always done with the very best intentions to make the child what the parents think he should be. The result is fear and lack of confidence.

Armaments are the result of fear, not of fact; and this fear and the belief in force have their roots always in the first few years of life.

CHILDREN who in the first few years of life are treated as equals, who build up their personalities in confidence on sound lines, can never later change their sound ways for unsound ones—aggression, delinquency, nervousness, &c. They do not begin later to compel others to do their will; they do not use others as a means to their own ends (the mistake which leads to such economic factors as are conducive to war.)

The aim of parents interested in peace should be to bring their child up in such good confidence and social feeling that he will not later fear force, or see any sense in using it. The condition is that parents, teachers, &c. must themselves see no sense in using it toward the child.

Doris L. Rayner

### Are You a Municipal Employee?

Members of the PPU who are municipal employees are invited to communicate with Mr. N. E. Russell, 25 Oldfield Road, Sutton (PPU member and municipal employee), who is anxious to ascertain the strength of pacifism among municipal employees, as well as the attitude of such members toward National Service, ARP, &c. All names and addresses will be treated confidentially.

# PEACE NEWS

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:

**I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.**

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

## The Editor's Point of View

### A Risk—for Peace

**H**IS Majesty's Government," said Mr. Chamberlain in the House of Commons on February 27, "believe that permanent peace can only be secured by a settlement which includes a limitation of armaments and the removal of barriers to international trade."

I have more than once stated my view (he went on) that before a world conference could be summoned to deal with such questions, a considerable amount of preliminary preparation would be necessary, and I have explained the reasons why I do not consider that the time has yet arrived when such a conference would be a practical proposition.

Mr. Chamberlain has explained that more confidence is needed before a conference can be held. Asked whether the method of conference would not itself be more likely to promote peace than would the piling up of arms, he said:

As the House is aware, I am extremely anxious to promote a general settlement which will include the things I have mentioned. As soon as I think it possible to convene a conference with any chance of success I shall certainly do so.

Pressed to say whether he had communicated with the Government of the USA on the question, he replied: "No, sir; but I shall do so when I think it will be useful to do so."

That some preparation for so great a step is necessary is obvious. And if confidence is needed as part of the preparation, it certainly cannot be said that that preliminary stage is yet passed. But Mr. Chamberlain did not really answer the suggestion that the very fact of making a move to hold such a conference might be its own preparation for success, while the determination to continue the arms race, on which Mr. Chamberlain declares he is set, will certainly not encourage confidence.

Yet that is the vital issue. For if Mr. Chamberlain's reason for delaying the conference is theoretically sound, in the face of the international situation it is impossible to accept it—or, indeed, any other reason—as justifying further delay of a step which is admitted on all hands to be desirable. That situation is one of ever-growing suspicion. Not so much suspicion of Mr. Chamberlain's own good intentions as a deep-rooted, universal suspicion produced by the piling up of arms.

It is not necessary to point to the widespread, mutual, and more or less absurd charges of aggressive intentions as evidence of this suspicion. They are among the least responsible and most superficial expressions of it. For which reason it was quite futile for our Ambassador in Berlin to attempt, as he did the other day, to remove the suspicion by retailing to a German audience the honeyed phrases about defence with which our politicians justify the arms bill to us. Indeed, it is difficult to understand how Sir Nevile Henderson can have been so naive as to suppose he could succeed. For the comment in Germany on his previous effort expressed the real and fundamental nature of the suspicion. As summed up by the Berlin Correspondent of *The Times*, the comment was:

It remains to be seen whether a Britain conscious of strength will be readier than a weak Britain to recognize the needs and vital rights of other nations, which include, as the Führer said in his speech of January 30, an appropriate share in the riches of the earth. Will rearmed Britain, for example, be able to drop those military anxieties which have frequently been mentioned as a reason for delaying to meet the just and reasonable colonial claims of the Reich? Or will she then consider that the settlement of such problems "by peaceful means" is superfluous?

That is how suspicion is created. And as if to underline the description in this column a fortnight ago of how the arms race works, *The Times* reported last week that Marshal Badoglio had returned to Italy from his inspection of the military situation of Libya and that "the military preparations are no doubt being continued in the light of his report: the measures on each side of the frontier seem to have been dictated by what was considered to be the warlike behaviour of the other party, and there is no foreseeing where the competition to be strongest will end" (my italics).

That is precisely the case in a nutshell for some immediate step to bring the nations together in conference. Even if Mr. Chamberlain is right in saying "there is no foreseeing" whether such a step will end in success, the fact that the piling up of arms and the consequent increasing suspicion are obviously not bringing peace calls for the taking of what risk there may be in banking on the power of an example in the opposite direction to break the vicious circle of fear.

**Humphrey S. Moore**

# IF WAR COMES

By STORM JAMESON

I TRY to remember the thoughts, in August 1914, of an uninstructed young woman not long down from the university. Impossible, all that is gone. But I remember the change of feeling as the war dragged on. I should say at once that, although I had friends who were imprisoned as conscientious objectors and although I respected them and had sympathy with their attitude and belief, I never went the whole way with them.

I think I was, being young, repelled by a single objector well known to me who implied always that moral courage was not only a higher form of courage than the courage of a fighting soldier but an exclusive possession of objectors. I believe neither of these things. Precisely the same moral courage is demanded of a soldier under a heavy bombardment as is demanded of a conscientious objector in his lonely ordeal. And both are isolated.

But long before the end of the War I was praying for it to end, on any terms. The horror of this deliberate slaughter of the young men was beginning to colour every other feeling in my mind. I understood what was going on no better than any other civilian. Sometimes, in a phrase used by one of my friends (perhaps the week before he went back to France for the last time), I caught a glimpse of the truth.

It was when the memoirs of men like Sassoon, Blunden, Read, Manning, and scores of others had been written that I came once and for all to believe that nothing, nothing at all, justifies the bestiality of torturing human flesh hour after hour, year after year. Not the courage of the soldier, not the virtues of comradeship. Nothing.

## Roots of War

THE years since the War have taught all of us that war is the most futile of indecencies. If 1918 had actually been an end, we might have comforted ourselves, "Yes, it was horrible, and the young men we killed are dead, but at worst it has cured us of war."

But the final irony of it all is that 1918 only set the stage for the next war, and made it certain that when it came it would be more ruthless.

It is egotism that makes us talk as though war had not yet begun. The living as well as the dead in China and Spain know better.

Neither horror nor conviction of its futility are any use in preventing another war. In fact, horror and intellectual contempt have become a weak indulgence. If these feelings are the best we can manage we mustn't discard them. They may help us through another war. But to prevent war, even to make it less likely, we need a wider understanding and a quieter faith.

The roots of war are economic and social. They grow in the same soil with poverty and unnatural inequality. They may also be biological. Many pacifists deny this last, seeming to think that to admit a biological root of war is admitting that it cannot be got rid of. That is not true. It means only that the struggle against war can never be regarded as finished, that no generation can afford to slacken its efforts. It makes pacifism more necessary, not less useful.

## What Shall We Do?

SO—suppose we fail this time? Suppose war comes. What are you going to do? I am not going to tell you what you ought to do. You will decide for yourself, as I for myself.

The first impulse of any pacifist is to keep out of it, to say, "Their blood be upon their own heads—and hands." And I am under no illusion as to the danger and difficulties facing any pacifist who decides that whatever happens he will take absolutely no part; he will not nurse, not clear up after an air raid, not grow food. The man who takes this course is a man who will have plenty of use for his courage.

But I don't agree with him that he can contract out of society in this way. His responsibility to the community, and mine and yours, is not terminated when the community begins to act wickedly. Nor is it fulfilled by protests designed to open the eyes of the other members of society to the folly and wickedness of what they are doing and allowing to be done in their name. Nor do I agree that the satisfaction of the individual conscience is enough. In fact, the less you say about your conscience the better I shall like you. I don't like people who wear their consciences in their buttonholes.

Is there anything, any form of social service, a pacifist can decently offer to do? Ought he to agree to pick up the dead and dying after an air raid, or help to get children away beforehand? Or look after children who have been got away? Yes, say those whose imagination presents them with the picture of maimed or homeless children. No, answer cooler minds; you are only releasing men to fight, and you are encouraging the government to risk war by helping to organize it and make it tolerable.

PERHAPS I was hasty in refusing to range myself with the absolute refusals? Ought the pacifist to make his protest, as loudly as he can, and then submit himself to be jailed or shot?

Certainly it is the supreme protest. And, even if not heard in war time, the memory of it will remain for the future. Yes—but what sort of a future is our country certain to prepare for itself while all that is liberal, all that refuses to hate, all that believes in the possibility of decent relations between countries, is shut up in prison or shot? And are you sure that in choosing to go to prison you are not Pilate washing his hands?

The attitude of those pacifists who feel compelled to do rescue work is determined by what we know of the nature of present-day war. We know that any future war will be directed as much against children as against armies. In eighteen months in Spain Franco's aeroplanes killed over 10,000 children and wounded over 15,000. Children die of wounds from which an adult can recover. There are more children to be killed here, so that we may expect a still greater slaughter. And children are innocent of war, whoever is guilty. I do not commend a pacifist who refuses to run a danger to his conscience in saving them.

I do not feel that the knowledge that pacifists, detesting war, would nevertheless be willing to look after its child victims, is an encouragement to any government to go to war.

I consider that the grounds on which pacifists could offer this service are infinitely stronger than the grounds which sent some Quakers into the Friends' Ambulance Unit during the last war, without noticeable damage to their faith.

I agree, and with emphasis, that pacifists should avoid being caught in the military machine, even when it is presented to them labelled ARP. That is why I should like to see as many members of the Peace Pledge Union as are fit for it forming themselves into a body of people properly trained and equipped to work as a unit, doing rescue work among civilians in air raids, in children's camps, in this and other countries.

There is a Pacifist Service Corps in process of formation in London at this moment. (Its secretary, Mrs. E. Jackson, 10 Abbey Gardens, N.W.8, will give particulars.) It is my belief that pacifists will be of more use to the cause of peace in war time if they are working in this Corps than they would be in prison. They will remain active members of the community, visibly working for love and not for hate, and not segregated with their pacifist faith in camps.

## Victims of Hate

IN the meantime, the victims of the doctrines of hate are always with us. There may be one living near you. Living? Existing—with small comfort and in bitter need of help.

There are many other ways of helping refugees than by searching your pockets again. You can ask them to a meal, or give them English lessons. You can be tolerant of their ways when these are not our ways. In my part of England we have a saying—"He's a kind of man I don't mind putting myself out for." I am ready to say that an exile is a man I will put myself out for without asking whether I mind him or not.

**Postscript.** There is a book—*Union Now*, by Clarence Streit—which every pacifist ought to get hold of, by any means, and read. The author is not a pacifist. None the less he puts forward a suggestion which would, if it were translated into practical politics, do more for the hope of peace in our time than pacifism has been able to do.

## Overruled

The pretext for hostilities was given. What advice or remonstrance did I omit, when urging that any peace, even the most inequitable, should be preferred to the most righteous war? My advice was overruled.

Cicero. To Aulus Cæcina. 46 B.C.

## The Great Illusion

As for the imaginary profit grown by the many rich spoils at sea and attempts in Spain, it may be well cast up by two examples of our best fortunes. The journey of Calais defrayed not the charge to her Majesty by £64,000. And our times of most advantage by prizes between anno 30 and 34 of the Queen, wherein we received but £64,044 defrayed not the charge of the Navy, arising in the same years to £275,761. As to the greatest loss, expense of Christian blood, it may well suffice to bemoan with Horace . . .

Is there as yet so little Latin blood  
Spilt on the fields and floods?  
Nor wolves nor lions do we ever find  
So cruel to their kind.

Sir Robert Bruce Cotton.  
*Wars with Foreign Princes*, c. 1604.

## Christian Pacifists' Statement on National Service

THE Government's pamphlet on National Service ought to be entitled "War Service." So says "a statement of Christian pacifist opinion upon the problems created by the Government's appeals for national service in war time and in time of preparation for war," issued by the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups (16 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1, price 1d.).

It points out that, "more clearly than ever, war and preparation for war are a business involving the organization not simply of an army but of a whole nation"; that although nobody can "free himself wholly of responsibilities for what the community does . . . the pacifist will feel that he is bound in conscience to refuse willing and active participation in war"; but that he will, on the other hand, "desire to relieve suffering and to reconstruct what is destroyed."

Details of what a pacifist's work might be in war-time cannot be foreseen, and in the meantime the pacifist will feel bound to "pursue the work to which he now feels called." The statement concludes that, "whatever service of an outward and organized sort it might be possible to render," clearly the pacifist's first duty is to work against the deadly effects on mind and spirit of war and of preparation for war, to counter the spread of racial and ideological hatreds and of lying propaganda, and to warn the nation against the destruction of morality and religion which we now know to be the inevitable accompaniment of war."

### IN 1914-18

The pamphlet containing the statement includes a historical summary, compiled by Miss A. Ruth Fry, of activities undertaken during the Great War by those who held Christian pacifist convictions.

It recalls that "the work of those who were definitely opposed to taking part in the war system fell into three groups:—

1. Ambulance work, i.e., help to those who were fighting;
2. Relief work for civilians, either of allied or 'enemy' nationality;
3. Imprisonment, as the most complete refusal to accept any service as an obligatory alternative to war service, and a positive testimony to a belief in the rightness and possibility of a warless world."

Descriptions are given of what was involved in these courses, and the convictions which led men to undertake them are explained.

### Dr. Wood's View

Speaking at a meeting in Birmingham last Monday, Dr. Alex Wood suggested that the book issued by the Government should have been more adequately entitled *War Service* rather than *National Service*.

Despite this, he said, some consideration should be shown by pacifists before condemning this "Service." He suggested that some pacifist circles could form a "Pacifist Voluntary First-Aid Corps" or "Ambulance Detachment." Even so, difficulties would arise as services of this description as often as not called for some regimental oath.

For the past twenty years, the Government has made no effort whatsoever toward making a publication referring to social welfare. Dr. Wood emphasized the need for real service, surely the nation wanted social service to help eradicate war and not accelerate its coming.

"I must urge," Dr. Wood went on to say, "that all pacifists should strive to maintain unity and toleration in the movement, this as least could be one comparatively easy aim."

### "Peace News" in Public Libraries

The inclusion of Newport in our recent list of places where the public library displays *Peace News* each week was an error.

The total number of public libraries now showing the paper regularly is therefore 381.

### Next Week

## Middleton Murry will contribute

# INTERNATIONAL SERVICE FOR PEACE

## The Pacifist Alternative to Rearmament

A N announcement that the Peace Pledge Union hopes shortly to launch a handbook (on the lines of the Government's National Service handbook) giving particulars of international service for peace, was made by Canon Stuart Morris, chairman of the PPU, at a crowded public meeting in Friends House, London, on Friday.

### In the Public Eye



HERE is one of the ways in which Birmingham members of the Peace Pledge Union bring their paper before the public. What's more, they have their sales arrangements so well organized that the cost of the poster is being paid for out of profit from the sale of *Peace News*.

The poster, which measures approximately ten feet by seven and was designed by Leslie Price, is in Hill Street. On the left of it is a poster displayed by the Friends' Peace Committee; on the right, a poster for the Royal Air Force!

Not every group, perhaps, can hope to display a poster of this size and pay for it as Birmingham members have done; but every group can follow their example in organizing street selling regularly and mass selling from time to time.

Whether your town is large or small you can bring the paper before the public and let people know where they can buy it regularly.

### Not Murder if Conscripts are Killed?

Addressing the Oxford Union Mr. L. S. Amery, MP, said that without compulsory national service we would have to send men to war untrained and inadequately equipped in the face of well-trained and well-armed troops. This, he said, would be little short of murder.

The purpose of the meeting was to present to the public the choice of national service for war or international service for peace.

Canon Morris emphasized that the pledge, "I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another," was the basis of the PPU. Just as rearmament had its implications, which we were witnessing today, so had that pledge.

The first speaker, Lord Ponsonby, pointed out that "while diplomatically there seems to be a better atmosphere and no need for real apprehension, and wise moves toward conciliation and toward getting together in order to solve international difficulties, at the same time the governments of Europe are showing in the most blatant way their mistrust of one another by piling up armaments in a way that has never happened in the whole world's history."

As he himself renounced war, so Lord Ponsonby wanted his country to renounce war, to take the initiative and disarm by example. A disarmed nation would be perfectly secure, he said, because nations at war always claimed they were fighting a war of defence, and no nation would need to "defend" itself against a disarmed nation.

### DICTATORSHIP BOGEY

Dealing with some of the reasons given for reliance upon arms, Lord Ponsonby pointed out that dictators did not last for long. They could not be crushed by force of arms. "This dictatorship bogey," he continued, "can only be removed by the people of the country itself. Interference from outside would strengthen the power of the dictator."

The question that should be asked of those who supported arms, he insisted, was "What cause would justify the killing of millions of men, women, and children in their own homes?"

It was no good saying there ought not to be ARP, the Register, and conscription. "If the nation persists in arming you cannot get out of those things. It is all part and parcel of the great drive to instil fear." The very preparation brought the evil day nearer. The day he wanted to bring nearer was the day of peace among nations, by the abandonment of international warfare.

### HOPEFUL SIGNS

"I know that our hope is going to be realized," he concluded, "and that is why I feel that we must endeavour to the best of our ability to bring that day nearer. People are coming round to our point of view." This had been particularly evident since the crisis.

The truth of Lord Ponsonby's statement was shown by the fact that the speaker who followed, Ethel Mannin, admitted that she had come to take the full pacifist position during the crisis. Though she had always been anti-war, being a revolutionary socialist, she had played her part in demanding arms for Spain.

Since then, however, horror had been piled upon horror, and during the crisis she suddenly realized that she could never condone violence. It had become clear that even from the Spanish struggle nothing good could come.

### WORSE THAN FASCISM

"There are other means of resistance than by machine guns," continued Ethel Mannin. It was a question of life or death, and she would have life at any price. Even a fascist government was better than war.

The speaker went on to condemn anti-fascist propaganda, which produced a war mentality. Although we were so indignant against fascism, we had fascism in our midst. Talk of democracy was entirely for home consumption. There was little democracy in the British Empire; there was no free speech in Africa or India. Just as Hitler discriminated against the Jews, so we discriminated against coloured people in this country.

In war-time democracy would be the first thing to go overboard. Industrial and military conscription, the first things that would come if war broke out, were fascist measures.

Another war, she added, would be a war between thieves—practising thieves and retired thieves. As such, decent people could have nothing to do with it.

Although it served "a whole lot of people very well to insist that war was near," it was not inevitable. "We must have peace at any price, even without honour—though actually honour doesn't come into the picture, for what is honour among thieves?"

"Don't just be negative and sentimental. It is not good enough merely to applaud. You have

### A New Way to Fill the Hall

JOHN BARCLAY, PPU Group Secretary, organized the meeting reported in the adjacent columns.

There was an attendance of some 1,100 and the collection of £22 18s. 9d. represented a profit of over £4. Literature sales amounted to £2 16s., over 150 copies of "Peace News" were sold.

A novel publicity method largely contributed to the success of the meeting, which was directed particularly at non-pacifists. In place of the customary advertising leaflets and admission tickets, a large card was issued, bearing the details of the meeting, and fulfilling both functions.

Supplies of cards were sent to group leaders and others for distribution. 3,000 posters were printed.

The total cost of the publicity for the meeting was the remarkably small sum of £3 5s.

to do something. You can resist the National Register, ARP work and conscription; you can do propaganda for peace and contradict the idea of the inevitability of war."

### USE YOUR IMAGINATION

"Pacifism," declared Max Plowman, who followed, "is nothing else but the exercise of the human imagination. Allow your imagination to work; let it keep on working, and I am convinced that pacifism will be the conclusion."

How many, he asked, could think with complacency of people in Britain at that moment filling cylinders with poison gas, or filling bombs with high explosive deliberately designed to blow a part of civilization to pieces. "The smallest part of imagination on the part of people engaged in those activities would stop them doing that," he added.

"Patriotism is not enough." That, he believed, was the most important statement made since the beginning of this century. If it was accepted, we had to discover what was enough.

"In place of narrow nationalism there has got to supersede that internationalism which is the exercise of the imagination and the understanding that people who live across a stretch of water don't thereby turn themselves into fiends. We have got to think in their terms. We can then understand why they are doing what they are doing. What they are doing is consequential to what has been done to them in the past."

The thing to do was not to "repeat the dose" as before, but to have a policy which understood their need.

At the time of the crisis he thought Mr. Chamberlain had done a good day's work. There was every opportunity for war, but Mr. Chamberlain's action had been, strictly speaking, pacifist. But the consequences of that action did not appeal to him in the same fashion. It had resulted in the problem of the refugee.

### DUTY TO REFUGEES

"The proper policy," continued Mr. Plowman, "is that we in this country should now identify ourselves with the lot of those persons who find themselves, in consequence of the Pact of Munich, without a place to live in. Had Mr. Chamberlain done that, this country would have demonstrated to the whole world the inner and true nature of democracy. This country should assert the right of a man to life. Instead the Government had introduced a scandalous Means Test for those who wanted to help the refugees.

"The world will not have got rid of the idea that nationalism is enough," he concluded, "until it gets hold of the idea that 'The earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof.'"

Dr. Donald Soper, the final speaker, pointed out that one could not do National Service for war at the same time as international service for peace.

### PREPARE FOR THE BEST

"We have such a view of the world," he said, "that we are bound to prepare for the best. I don't believe that the prospects of peace are a long way off." We should be ready to march in and take possession of the new world when it came—and it might come sooner than many people thought.

Service for peace could be far more glamorous than preparations for war. The first job of every pacifist was to try and win one more pacifist.

"I am much disturbed," he continued, "at the constant attempt to reduce human nature to the lowest level. It is a great mistake to set our standards for humanity so low that all the time we have to suspect the intentions and the motives of other people."

We should refuse to believe that, because we hated fascism, we had got to hate fascists. We should discriminate clearly between man as a child of God, and his actions, which were often of the devil.

"If you will fill your life with the things which belong to peace," he continued, "you will actually be turning out evil by good. The biggest preparation for war is the instilling into the community of the atmosphere of war."

"The biggest and finest contribution to peace is made by the people who say, 'We are certain that the new stage of humanity is near.' The kingdom of God is at hand, and it is our business to put it in hand."

"If you become new sorts of people yourselves, confident that you want to give your whole life to the exercise of faith in peace, you will be making an immediate and practical contribution."

## NATIONAL PETITION "For a New Peace Conference"

Saturday,  
QUEEN'S HALL, March 18th. 7.45 p.m.

Announcement of Petition Results.  
THE FLEET STREET CHOIR

### Speakers :

THE BISHOP OF CHELMSFORD  
GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P.  
MISS VERA BRITTAINE

DR. C. E. M. JOAD

Admission Free. Reserved Seats 2/6 and 1/-  
NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL, 39, Victoria Street, LONDON, S.W.1

## Two Books on the Colonies

# Shall We Share Them Out?

By IRENE STILES

**The International Share-Out.** By Barbara Ward. Nelson. 2s.

WITH the best will in the world it is difficult for the average man or woman to view the colonial problem clearly. Determined to preserve an open mind we may read all the diverse and contradictory views and news in the various newspapers, arm ourselves for argument with all the dry legal facts governing the mandatory system and yet fail to grasp the human essentials.

Barbara Ward's book is well christened a discussion book and I cannot think of a better for groups who want to study all the aspects of the colonial question. Here it is expounded as fairly and as clearly as so complex a question could be, and the issues are not complicated by an unnecessary weight of words. In one small volume of 170 odd pages we are given all the essential facts and figures, the cases for and against and all the seemingly incompatible points of view.

"It was," Miss Ward reminds us, "the fabulous tales of Cathay and of the riches of the Spice Islands that first enticed the nations of Europe into colonial adventure, and in spite of a thousand deceptions, something of the naive belief in the existence of undiscovered wealth in foreign lands still haunts men's minds—and especially the minds of politicians—when they talk of the value and necessity of possessing colonies."

### Basis of Peace

Miss Ward's criticisms are good because she criticizes from each end of the various colonial grievances. But she does more than that: she shows how the world's more than adequate wealth of food and material of all kinds can be, and ought to be, shared fairly and freely among the nations. Such a share-out should prove the truest basis of permanent peace.

She devotes comprehensive chapters to the claims of the dissatisfied Powers: Germany, Italy and Japan, and gives the case for and against those claims. In chapters on the Mandates, The Open Door, Colonies and Raw Materials, Colonial Strategy and Prestige, Colonial Disputes and War, she disposes of a number of well-worn fallacies.

During an early 1938 street carnival in Munich there paraded a monstrous effigy of a man with a red nose. This figure carried a number of bulging parcels each labelled with the name of some country in the British Empire. There were big parcels for India and the Dominions and a host of smaller ones for the Crown Colonies. The title of this effigy was "The Satisfied Englishman." But such a picture is, as Miss Ward hastens to point out, completely misleading. For one thing it implies that those with colonies are naturally satisfied; those without inevitably dissatisfied. Which is far from the case.

### Concentrations of Wealth

"The most stable industrial countries are not those with vast overseas dominions, but those in which, as in the Scandinavian countries, the general standard of living is high and all citizens can afford a share of the country's products." Japan has colonies but is still dissatisfied and fifty percent of her population live at starvation level on the land!

At the other extreme four firms control a tremendous percentage of Japan's industry and finance. "So long as the economic structure of the country is built up on vast and irresponsible concentrations of wealth, no colonial policy will permanently settle Japan's economic problem."

For it is not the farmer at home who profits by colonial expansion, but the small group of capitalists and financiers to whom may be added, if colonial policy be conducted by violence, armament manufacturers as well.

Again, colonies are not necessarily outlets for surplus population. Emigration depends, logically enough, on climate and living conditions. "A thousand bare acres in Libya will not blossom overnight by the mere fact of having suffered a change of ownership. Libya owned by anybody is a poor field for investment, while the United States and Java, one independent, one colonial, would still be profitable fields for

investment even if their positions were reversed." We see, too, how Holland's colonial policy, the most liberal in the world, has largely served her well, and that the more selfish preference policies often succeed in defeating their own ends.

The colonial problem is the whole world's business and not just a question for Germany and her neighbours. "The Mandate system is a definite attempt to raise the status of colony-holding and remove the colonies from the dusty arena of economic exploitation and imperialist rivalry." To hand colonies back to any country unconditionally would be to retreat from the only positive attempt yet made to create some system of colonial ethics.

### One Standard Needed

But we can only convince the world and Germany in particular of our sincerity if we will lead the way and apply the same standard to all our colonies. At present Great Britain is upholding two standards of colonial behaviour: a pre-1914 one for her own colonies and a post-1914 one for those that were Germany's. No wonder we are misunderstood.

"Such a step as the extension of the Mandates principle demands two great

sacrifices: our readiness to renounce all exclusive economic advantages in our colonial dependencies, and our determination to change trusteeship from an ideal to a reality by giving up once and for all the advantages we may gain by exploiting native land and native labour.

"The challenge of the 'Have Not' Powers is economic and political, but above all it is a moral one. . . . We have every right to complain that their sense of grievance is based upon an old-fangled and exploded though dangerous view of colonial advantage. . . . Yet since we enjoy the advantages, who can pass judgment better than we on the profit and loss of the colonial balance sheet? . . . We cannot expect Germany to take the lead in renouncing colonial exploitation. She has no colonies to exploit. We, the exploiters, must take the first step. If we do not," and Miss Ward ends her book with this timely warning, "then 'Haves' and 'Have Nots,' successful exploiters and would-be exploiters, imperialists past with imperialists present, will go down together into the pit of war which our selfishness, shortsightedness, and lack of courage have help to dig."

I wonder how many Members of Parliament have read this book.

## Africans' Claim To Freedom

By JOHN P. FLETCHER

**Africa and World Peace.** By George Padmore. Secker and Warburg. 3s. 6d.

CITIZENS of the White nations which own colonies not only have to answer their own consciences about the way colonial subjects are being ruled, but they have now to answer such people as Mr. George Padmore, a Negro writer, educated in Trinidad and at the American Negro Colleges of Fish and Howard.

He has for some time been living in Europe as a journalist and is now European Correspondent of various American, West Indian, and West African Negro papers. His previous books are *Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers*, and *How Britain Rules Africa*, and Martin Secker now publish his third, *Africa and World Peace*.

Mr. Padmore writes, however, not as a Negro, or man of African descent, but as a socialist, and most of the book is an impassioned argument against capitalist imperialism ("There can be no peaceful solution of the colonial question within the existing social order").

The way Africa endangers world peace is shown clearly to be the struggle between the rival imperialisms of Great Britain and Germany, and with Italy coming in as the fascist ally of Germany. He quotes *The Times* Paris Correspondent as saying (25.9.35):

"Here (in France) as in England, there are thoughtful people who think that the revision of the distribution of Colonies is inevitable sooner or later, and that the sooner the fact is finally faced the easier and less costly revision will be."

### Three Proposals

What is the solution? There are three inadequate proposals, says Mr. Padmore.

1. That Germany should have her colonies back and other dissatisfied Powers should have some of the others. This is proposed by Lord Lothian.

2. That "one by one the problems of colonies should be detached from the rivalries of nations and put under international control." This is proposed by Mr. J. L. Hammond and "endorsed by Canon Sheppard and George Lansbury of the Peace Pledge Union."

3. That all African territories now administered as Crown Colonies or Protectorates be put under the Mandates system of the League of Nations. This is pro-

posed by Sir Arthur Salter and supported, among others, by Leonard Barnes, and Charles Roden Buxton and by the Labour Party.

All these solutions are condemned as futile and impossible by Mr. Padmore, who comes to the dismal conclusion "that the colonial question must lead, as it did in 1914, to another world war." His final chapter is, therefore, appropriately called, "Africa and the coming World War."

### PPU and Mandates

The chief question for readers of *Peace News* is to decide first whether Mr. Padmore is right in saying that the Peace Pledge Union supports the internationalizing plan of Mr. Hammond. As distinct from the mandates solution supported by the Labour Party.

My own solution is only just mentioned by Mr. Padmore, and not developed at all by him, where he says (page 206): "The workers must demand the complete independence of the colonial peoples, which alone can guarantee world peace."

I wish that Mr. Padmore had written more as a Negro representing the African people in their claim for freedom from imperial rule. There is no doubt that all young educated Africans desire this independence. It seems to me that his Marxian argument has led him inevitably to inevitable war, but that his instinct for freedom has led him just as inevitably to say that "complete independence can guarantee world peace."

### Consideration for Africans

He may reply that there must first be war ("just one more war to end war") and then independence and peace, and it is here that the pacifist and socialist argument meets. A pacifist must be socialist and anti-imperialist, and I am concerned that pacifist anti-imperialism should make its appeal to the African people themselves.

Too much of our thought at present on the colonial question is how to use the "colonies" to avert another European war; our only thought should be the physical and social well being of the African people. Mahatma Gandhi, who gained his first political experience in Africa, will have a big influence on the African movement of freedom from imperialism.

## "Germany Was Driven Mad"

DR. F. W. NORWOOD, addressing the National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches at Bradford, said that whenever he felt inclined to rail against Germany, he asked himself "Who made her go mad like that?"

"We had the most absolute victory in our hands in 1918 that any nation could ever dream of having, and if, 20 years afterwards, we are facing what is possibly another Armageddon, whose fault is it?"

"We should not get anywhere by merely slanging one another and telling Hitler to be a nice little English gentleman."

"If it had not been for that man, dangerous as he is, mad as he may be, we would have kept that nation under our feet to the crack of doom," Dr. Norwood declared.

## "Renounce War" Call to Clergy

SOME two thousand people were present at the meeting held by the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups in Kingsway Hall, London, last week, to support the ministers' declaration of renunciation of war launched recently.

The chairman, Canon C. E. Raven, explained that it was hoped to gain 5,000 or more signatures to the Declaration from clergy and ministers—and that before Easter. He appealed to sympathizers to give energetic help by personally approaching ministers in their districts.

Canon Raven felt that recent months had seen a strengthening among thoughtful Christian people of their conviction that, if the Christian Gospel was worth preaching at all, Christian pacifism could not be dismissed as an impracticable ideal, since it could not be separated from belief in God as a loving Father and in the redemptive power of the Cross.

### CLEARER THOUGHT NEEDED

Miss Vera Brittain, speaking as a representative of the lay point of view, quoted a remark of a leading psychologist in a letter in *The Times*: "If all people could really think things out, we should all be pacifists."

She appealed for clearer thinking, closer examination of our own hearts, and a greater willingness to sink national and political differences and get on with the job of living together. It was important to show the people of other nations that we did not want war. The signatures to the National Petition for a New Peace Conference would serve a valuable purpose in that way, even if no conference ever resulted from it.

Vera Brittain thought the very fear and agitation of the past months indicated a big step forward since 1914, since it showed that people knew and understood better what was going on.

To understand a thing was half way to doing something about it. Pacifists ought to look forward, not fearfully but with hope, and prepare themselves for the change that was coming.

### "Lighthouse, NOT Lifeboat"

"The special task of Christian people today is to be a lighthouse, not a lifeboat," said Dr. Donald Soper. The Christian message was rooted in the belief in God as the Father of mankind and the Cross of Christ as the hope of the world.

It was a simple message and one of good news: "Love your enemies." Pacifism could perhaps not be defended conclusively by intellectual arguments, but for the Christian who saw with the eye of faith it was a practical reality; and reality was much richer than thought. That message must be preached in our lives and actions.

Dr. Soper ended with a challenge to each one present to resolve, there and then, what new thing he or she would do in the service of peace; and small things, the advocacy of a pamphlet or meeting, need not be despised.

## The Peace Plough

THE Peace Plough has left Geneva for the New York World Fair, where it will be exhibited in the League of Nations Pavilion.

The Plough was made of the swords of veterans of American Civil War and first shown in Europe in 1878. Since then it has remained in the Alabama Hall in Geneva, where the quarrel between Britain and America was settled.

The Plough is now returning to America for the first time after 60 years in Europe.

Get to know  
**ALLY SOL**

**PRESTON BENSON**  
**"Speaking Personally"**  
**Tells . . . . .**

**S**PEAKING personally, I should like to see those masked companies of State intelligence departments known as the Secret Service abolished and their duties, wherever they are necessary for peace and order at home, handed over completely to the police forces of the land.

British spies abroad should be withdrawn and dismissed and the system of espionage obliterated.

Such a step would be open evidence of our desire for peace, an honest expression of our purpose. At once it would rid Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Halifax of the underlying hypocrisy of their position every time they meet foreign statesmen on friendly ground. How much good feeling has been fearfully smothered, one wonders, by statesmen face to face across a table inside, because they know that outside their spies are at each other's secrets?

**War Minister's Move**

THE idea of abolishing espionage is not at all new or revolutionary.

When at the War Office before the Great War, Lord Haldane discussed with German statesmen in Berlin a possible Anglo-German agreement to forbid spying in each other's territory, "English progressive opinion was ready for it. At a spy trial that excited public opinion in those days Mr. Justice Darling could frankly say, as he did, that

the practice of spying with the intent of discovering secrets which another nation thinks it essential to keep to itself can but create and inflame hostile feeling.

At that time Parliament was passing, without comment, a round £50,000 a year for the Secret Service.

When Lord Haldane's intentions leaked out, a characteristic newspaper campaign, with the double purpose of boosting the Secret Service and predicting disaster to the realm were it to go, was carried on. Its scare took the form of a lie that Germany was spending £600,000 a year on spying. The actual German figure then was £50,000 and £15,000 for a propaganda news service abroad.

A number of Liberal and Labour MP's constantly tried to make the Liberal Government of the day account for our £50,000.

The answer in the House of Commons was a stock one still in use—that the essence of a secret service is to remain secret and that Parliament, by custom, has waived its right to an explanation.

This attitude was persisted in even when the Civil Servants who audit our national accounts pointed out, in respect of money for the Secret Service, that

the expenditure out of this grant is necessarily of an uncertain character and cannot be accurately estimated.

**Not Even Efficient?**

DURING the Great War, the expenditure on the Secret Service went up tremendously. In 1916-17 it reached a nominal £500,000.

The War, all the same, provided a new angle of attack on the Secret Service—a doubt about its efficiency. After the War while worthies like Campbell Stephen, Thurtle, Maxton, and Ellen Wilkinson were fobbed off with the usual parrot-like excuses whenever they asked for details about the money grant, various war reminiscences revealed the immense inefficiency of espionage. This lesson of the War was summed up in a bold leading article in *The Daily News* in 1929. It was headed "The Spy" and said:

It is extremely doubtful whether there is any return at all worth talking about for the costly systems of espionage which most countries still maintain.

The War was really a long record of the failure of the spy.

The French Government at its beginning was entirely ignorant of Germany's intention to attack through Belgium. It nearly lost the War through its ignorance of a plan settled years before; and a plan which must have been known to thousands.

It would be very difficult to point to any instance in which any country gained any very material advantage during the War from spying on its neighbours.

What had persuaded this newspaper to lift the lid of a forbidden subject like this? The Labour Government of the day had found out the Secret Service and some ministers wished to be rid of it.

The late Arthur Henderson, when Foreign Secretary, had raised with other Powers the question of abolishing secret services.

# The Truth About The Secret Service

When Philip Snowden, at the Treasury, was floating around trades union meetings. I know to favour the move, reactionary newspapers at once began the cry, "Secret Service in Danger."

Actually the Labour Cabinet, at the best of Snowden, only discussed economies on the Secret Service but the vital economy would have been the withdrawal of spies from foreign countries.

**"Absurd Reports"**

THE Labour ministers involved had discovered another simple truth about the Secret Service—its unreliability.

The fundamental defect of the system lay in the difficulty of disentangling facts from falsehood in the reports of spies.

Professor Namier, of Manchester University, lately emphasized this in an address to the Historical Association. When he was in the Intelligence Department of the Foreign Office, he recalled, half his time was spent disproving absurd reports made by Secret Service agents.

They supplied, he said, "the most sensational blood-curdling stories," whereas the really valuable material his Department secured was through an "intelligent analysis of foreign newspapers."

There was unconscious support for this exposure in a series of articles on the Secret Service that recently appeared in a national newspaper. They were intended to butter up the Service.

One article related the blackmail and bluff employed by Secret Service agents. Another stressed the importance of Gleanings and gossip sent from a thousand sources to a thousand correspondents and relayed to headquarters—gleanings, rumours, scares, hints.

My own experience as a newspaper man has taught me how readily statesmen and Civil Servants can swallow such information.

In 1921, during a national strike of miners, the authorities had several agents at the Treasury. He knew, the tale ran, because

I remember Cramp of the National Union of Railwaymen turning out of Unity House an agent who had cheekily posed as a pressman when the journalists went in to see the railwaymen's secretary. Cramp knew the rest of us personally.

Later, when one of the conferences of miners, railwaymen and transport workers was on, an agent blandly mixed with waiting reporters. One of them, tired of his presence, told this agent a cock-and-bull story of what was happening behind the scenes. That evening an important Whitehall official was giving out the story to journalists who called upon him as information "from a highly confidential and reliable source"—as he told me. Not a single journalist, to my knowledge, was deceived.

**Popular Legends**

THE entire subject of secret service has been embroidered by a series of preposterous legends, largely recruited from war-time memoirs of spying by authors who have given singularly little evidence that would allow one to check their tell tales.

So there is strange intelligence of 40 O.B. or 40, Old Block, Admiralty; MI 1 (c)—more popularly, MI 5—which is given as the War Office room for military intelligence; and even quainter sources of mystery and imagination. There is that wonderful account of seven Secret Service chiefs at work in an armoured cellar in Downing Street and yarns of super-intelligences hidden in a queer house in Cromwell Road, South Kensington.

For years Sir Robert Vansittart of the Foreign Office and his private secretary were said to be the only two persons in the land who possessed a complete list of Secret Service personnel. Someone passed the honour to Sir Warren Fisher, of the Treasury. He knew, the tale ran, because

## All They Reveal To Parliament

In last year's Civil Service Estimates appeared this:—

**SECRET SERVICE**

Estimate of the amount required in the year ending March 31, 1940, to defray the charge of His Majesty's Foreign and other secret services: £500,000.

he alone sanctioned the spies' expenses sheets!

One need hardly recall the many romantic and beautiful Olgas who have seduced tipsy Continental generals to blackmail them into handing over their countries' secrets; or the fantastic efficiency of the Secret Service that allowed 150 British spies to dine together at a West End hotel without a single Fleet Street reporter being able to discover it.

The story I like best of these imaginings is that of a British spy who captured a diplomatic bag on its way from Greece to Germany. Duly opened at our Foreign Office, a letter from the Queen of the Hellenes was found hidden between cushions. The Foreign Office, the story continues, returned the letter to the Queen with an apology. This is one of the few gentlemanly incidents to be found in the vast fiction of espionage.

The reason why these lunacies persist is that authors can write them without fear of contradiction. The Secret Service never denies. Even when publicly credited with the superfine duty of reporting regularly to Downing Street on the health of every foreign statesman of note and the affairs of affection of every royalty there is, the official world never repudiates the ramblings of spy reminiscences.

**Mounting Cost**

FOUR years ago there was a brief reference to the Secret Service by Sir John Simon. "These experts," he said, "who furnish the Government with information, are a Service carried on under conditions of obscurity."

The next year the cost of the camera obscura was doubled. Since the Government embarked on the arms race, there has apparently been a mania for spying. It is reflected in the actual cost of the Secret Service during the past ten years:

1929	..	..	..	£166,031
1930	..	..	..	£165,299
1931	..	..	..	£168,068
1932	..	..	..	£177,681
1933	..	..	..	£178,609
1934	..	..	..	£178,799
1935	..	..	..	£178,592
1936	..	..	..	£349,000
1937	..	..	..	£350,000
1938	..	..	..	£450,000
1939	..	..	..	£500,000

Spies, it seems, must have their share of the plums of defence.

**Case for Abolition**

THAT is the cost in taxpayers' hard cash but it is only one side of the shield. The other is the intense irritation which spying arouses between the countries concerned—a moral cost that poisons international relations as mutual suspicions cross and recross the minds of the most ardent seekers of appeasement.

I put it to Mr. Chamberlain that his publicly-declared intentions would be more realizable than they are if he used his authority to abolish espionage. An official announcement that there were no longer any British spies working abroad would produce consternation in a few hundreds, perhaps a few thousands, of directly interested breasts but it would inspire real hope of peace in the hearts of millions of citizens who would no sooner knowingly trust a spy than they would disembowel a friend. And the nation would lose nothing, as far as I can gather, but a packet of lies, deceptions, rumours and incredibilities faked by the sub-world that secretly traffics in them.

★

The next contributor to the series "Speaking Personally" will be Andrew Stewart. His first article, to be published next week, will deal with the Peace Pledge Union and its policy.

PUBLISHED BY KEGAN PAUL

## JOHN BARCLAY writes from Room 13: WHAT PRICE FREEDOM?

WE are constantly being told that this is a free country, and I know that we have a very large measure of freedom compared with other lands, but there is a steadily increasing danger of which we should be aware. Misrepresentation and boycott in the press is most potent.

The latest example is worth noting and needs little comment from me. Last Friday we held a meeting in the large hall at Friends House attended by 1,100 people. The speakers were: Miss Ethel Mannin, Lord Ponsonby, Max Plowman and Donald Soper, with Stuart Morris in the chair. I sent a ticket and a personal letter to the News-Editors of all the London papers, and to the editor of *Reynolds, Time and Tide*, and the *New Statesman*.

The net result was one representative at the press table and he represented *Peace News*! One other reporter attended and spoke to me, but he left as soon as Lord Ponsonby had spoken because, as he said, he had been instructed to take no other notice of the meeting!

My point is this, if we are concerned about the freedom of the press, and no-one is more vocal on this point than the press itself, it is about time that the *non-military* point of view was given to the public. The speeches last Friday were on a high level and represented the united voice of a large section of the people, not only in this country but throughout the world.

How then can we tackle this task; how make known to the public this state of affairs? There are I think two lines of action, both of which should be undertaken by every member of the Peace Pledge Union. First, the direct approach by means

### The Notice Board

Items must be received by MONDAY.

#### Meetings

Brixham group meets in the Social Service Centre, Cavern Road, on first and third Sundays in the month, at 3 p.m.

Rickmansworth and Croxley Green group having concluded a study of Aldous Huxley's *Ends and Means*, will continue to meet as a study circle, in members' houses, every other week, usually on Fridays, 8.15 to 10.15 p.m. Future meetings include a study of the Van Zeeland Report. Leader H. E. Seed, Upmeads, The Drive, Rickmansworth.

Peckham.—Meetings held every Wednesday, 8 p.m., Friends' Meeting House.

#### Poster Parades

Fullham.—Volunteers wanted for parade tomorrow (Saturday) to advertise films *Kameradschaft and Are We Civilized?* to be shown at Congregational Hall, Dawes Road, on March 16. Meet outside Walham Green Station at 2.30 p.m. Volunteers also wanted for March 14, at 7.30 p.m. Write to Miss F. King, 37 Avonmore Road, London, W.14.

Volunteers wanted for special parades to awaken public interest in the sufferings of Sudeten refugees. Held every Monday from 6.45 p.m. from Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Thomas Street, W.1. Refreshments before and after the parade obtainable at the club.

#### "Peace News" Sellers Wanted

Glasgow.—Mass selling tomorrow (Saturday) at 8.30 p.m. Meet PPU office, Sauchiehall Street. Sparkhill and Sparkbrook.—Members here wish to maintain six selling posts every Friday (5.30 to 8 p.m.). Write Ronald A. King, 370 Sarehole Road, Hall Green, Birmingham, 28.

Birmingham.—Further volunteers wanted for street selling every Friday (4.30 to 8.30 p.m.) for hour or more. Write Wilfred S. Burtt, 22 Hemlock Road, Selly Oak, Birmingham, 29.

Kings Heath.—Selling in this district has commenced. More sellers are required between 2.30 and 5 p.m. on Saturdays. Write A. G. Sparkes, 43 Forest Road, Moseley, Birmingham, 13.

Bradford.—Volunteers wanted every Saturday. Meet outside Brown and Muff's (Tyrell Street entrance) at 2.30 p.m. Names and addresses to J. Ibson, Dale Garth, Daleside Road, Thornbury, Bradford.

Sheffield.—Urgent, on Fridays, between 5.45 and 8.30 p.m. at corner of Fargate and Leopold Street. Volunteers are asked to notify Geoffrey Pickup, 25, Change Alley, Sheffield, 1, not later than the previous Monday.

#### Miscellaneous

Midlands.—If you want your meeting reported write to *Peace News* Reporter Midland Area—Michael G. Thomason, 160 Reddings Lane, Hall Green, Birmingham 11.

Islington.—Volunteers wanted to cooperate in editing group monthly and assist in clerical work. Write L. Griffiths, 10 Holloway Road, London, N.1.

Bromsgrove, Barnet Green and Rednal. New group. Write, phone, or call: Mrs. Scarnell Lean, Studholme, Tawting Road, Rednal, near Birmingham. Tel. Hillsdale 1739.

Will all interested in formation of a group in Smethwick please communicate with: Eric S. Sandford, 44 Broomfield, Smethwick, Staffs.

of meetings, poster parades, literature distribution and letters to the local press (which I am glad to say still reports meetings faithfully), and secondly by giving the Peace Pledge Union the financial support to carry out a nation-wide propaganda campaign which would make it unnecessary to rely on the newspapers for publicity.

I am convinced that there are hundreds of thousands of people who would join our movement if they knew that we existed and were expressing the point of view they believe in. The need is urgent and the time is ripe for a new step forward. We are going to take it anyway, but the future will be assured if we can get the necessary funds to ignore the power of the press which at the moment is more concerned with war and sex crimes. The Beavermeres and Rotherbrooks are powerless if you will support the Lansburys and the Stuart Morris. Don't wait, act now!

My address in the new headquarters at the Dick Sheppard House is Room No. 13, and, as indicated by this week's heading, my notes are now written from this address. I consider it to be a most lucky number and the post this morning seems to bear out this belief.

I have not had time, and shall not have time, to answer all the letters that have arrived, but I do want to say how much I appreciate the good wishes and also the substantial donations that accompany some of them. A grand welcome that cheers us on our way.

Don't forget the PPU dance on March 15, and send for your tickets at once.

#### The Group Secretary's Weekly Notes

## What the Groups are Doing

A SUGGESTION that Britain should announce its intention not to bomb cities abroad even if our own were bombed, was made by the Mayor of Oxford, Dr. H. T. Gillett, who presided at a joint meeting held last week by the Oxford City PPU group and the Oxford University Pacifist Association.

The Mayor's suggestion and the meeting were given good publicity in the local press.

The Rev. James Barr, MP, spoke on the futility of war and on its consequences, and the Rev. Reginald Sorensen, MP, pointing to the Treaty of Versailles as the consequence of the last war, asked what measure of sanity could be expected from another war, if the next one would make the last one appear a dog-fight by comparison.

**Liverpool's Work for the Petition**

PPU members have been to the fore in helping the Liverpool coordinating committee to secure signatures for the National Petition for a New Peace Conference.

A member of the West Derby group obtained permission for the committee to have the petition in one of the leading stores, and members were there every day for three weeks. A shop with the sole purpose of advertising the petition and securing signatures was also opened for a week.

The Liverpool group also has a refugee fund. Already this has made it possible for a local pacifist to get relatives out of Germany.

#### Peckham Barrow Campaign

A CAMPAIGN with three barrows to secure signatures to the National Peace Council's petition was recently organized by the Peckham group. Over 345 signatures were obtained.

The vantage points were corners of turnings joining Rye Lane, and, apart from getting the signatures, members felt that the publicity was valuable. They intend to repeat the experiment later.

#### Growth in Romford

ROMFORD and Hornchurch reports an immense growth in "live membership" and a strengthening of the teams during the past year.

Open-air meetings have been held weekly since May, 1938, in Romford Market Place. Other activities have included a vigorous press campaign from time to time, and regular selling of *Peace News*.

The Harold Wood team took part in the Pax Players' Festival in October last, presenting *Wastage*—written and produced by the team—and won special praise. The same team has presented *The Octopus*, another original play.

Another team is at present actively concerned in alleviating the suffering of the refugees, while many members give support to social service in the district.

#### Enfield Town Activity

TOWARD the end of last year the Enfield Town Group decided:

To hold a monthly meeting of all signatories; To study economics under the auspices of the Henry George School of Economics; To form a group for the study of non-violent resistance;

## PACIFISM and THE P.P.U.

THE organization and policy of the PPU have been widely discussed in the Groups during the past year, and these two subjects will be before the AGM in some form.

In the current issue of "The Adelphi" (obtainable from PPU Headquarters, 7d. post free) MAX FLOWMAN states his attitude in an important editorial: "Modern Pacifism and the Peace Pledge Union."

In next week's issue of "Peace News" ANDREW STEWART will give his point of view, and subsequently MAURICE ROWNTREE will contribute an opinion.

We hope that members will avail themselves of "Peace News" to discuss the fundamentals of policy and organization prior to the AGM.

## University News

## Cambridge and Liverpool Activity

THE group in Cambridge University is now fully in existence. Last Friday the University group combined with the town group in organizing a meeting addressed by Dr. Thouless, Professor of Psychology, on the subject "Psychology and War."

This meeting was followed by the first annual general meeting of the University group under the chairmanship of Dr. Alex Wood. The secretary, J. C. Hatch, gave a report of the work done by the committee since its appointment a month ago. Not only is a complete list of members being prepared, but a local machinery of college groups is being instituted.

Soon, it is hoped, there will be a full programme of Study Groups and open meetings. Already a meeting at King's College has been held and similar ones in other colleges should follow. The full University group will meet again in April.

From Liverpool comes news of intense activity by the eight or nine active members in the University group. They recently gained permission to have a table in the main entrance of the Students' Union on which they placed the National Peace Council petition forms. In about five days 120 signatures were collected, these being extra to many others collected among the students and staff during the last three or four months.

Three weeks ago an interesting debate was held under the auspices of the Guild of Undergraduates on "Pacifism is a practical policy." Two PPU members of the University group proposed the motion which was ultimately lost by 37 votes to 21—a far from discouraging result.

Besides University activities the PPU group has a representative on the Merseyside Coordinating Committee and members also help as much as possible with other PPU groups in the district in the selling of *Peace News*, &c.

Members are now busy organizing a number of meetings, in addition to their group meetings. They hope shortly to have an address by the Rev. Sydney Spencer on "National Service for war or International Service for Peace," and another next term by Dr. Groyne Meara.

## Under the Oak Tree

## WORKING FOR THEIR LIVES

By Theo Wills

NEWS from Basque House itself is only available this week in letters received by the travelling troupe, which is still in Manchester. We gather from this correspondence that things go well at home, and also that some innovations have been introduced, to which we shall have to adapt ourselves on our return.

For instance, we learn that at last we have succeeded in arranging for some of our children to go to English schools in the district, and that everyone will have to get up a little earlier in the morning to enable them to do so in good time; a change which has already evoked strong comment from the hard-working travelling troupe: comment which will no doubt be expressed in the housemeeting when we get back. We trust, however, that an arrangement will be found to suit everyone.

Meanwhile, the travelling troupe of eight dancers and singers is making the acquaintance of new audiences in Manchester. It is a gay, though, in its way, a trying life, while it lasts; this brief interlude of "theatrical tour."

During the day the children pursue the acquaintances they have made with new English friends in the homes where they are billeted, and manage to keep entertained in various ways, from visits to the cinema, to pranks such as that played by Maria Jesus and Maria Angeles, who in all conscience ought to be little girls if there is anything in a name at all. Their mischief was for each of them to secure an invitation to tea for the other in their respective billets on the same day. In this way both had two teas.

At night we have the thrill of being taken on a new route through the maze of Manchester streets to a new hall, a new stage and a new audience. And, so to speak, against the background of good old smoke-blackened Manchester, we give again our colourful and lively programme, from a land of sun and colour, and, alas, of war.

"Echale guindas al pavo," "Shy cherries at the turkey!" A quaint title to a song about two gypsies who stole a turkey. "Oh! How we laughed as we came through the *Senieja*!" A Bilbao street song. Gay songs; but as one of our hosts said: "These children are singing and dancing for their lives."

This series, "Under the Oak Tree," is a weekly reminder of the Basque Children who are our protégés at Basque House, Langham, Colchester, Essex. All gifts in kind should be sent there.

Donations, in cash or by cheque, should be sent to the Basque Fund, Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. They will be most gratefully acknowledged.

(Continued on page 11)

## Forthcoming Events

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organizers of events to

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organizers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

### Today (Friday)

**LONDON, W.I.**: 6.30 p.m. Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, King's Weigh House, Thomas Street, Oxford Street; Leslie Stubbs on "Community"; PPU.

**DARLINGTON**: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; Rev. G. Lloyd Phelps, FoR and PPU.

**BATTEL**: 8 p.m. Guides Hall, High Street; Stephen Usherwood on "Pacifism—a way to Peace or Defeat"; PPU; Kenneth Wray (chairman); PPU.

**LIVERPOOL**: 8 p.m. Hope Street Church Hall, Caledonia Street; Rev. H. Inglis James on "The Politics of Christian Pacifism"; Social Problem Circle.

**ENFIELD**: 8.15 p.m. St. Michael's Church Hall, Chase Side; monthly meeting; Rev. T. H. H. Kilborn on "The Abolition of the Death Penalty"; PPU.

### Sunday, March 12

**BIRMINGHAM**: 7.45 p.m. Cooperative Hall, Rookery Road, Handsworth; Sydney Conbeer and Tom Reed on "The International Situation and World Peace"; Harley Millechap (chairman); PPU and ILP.

**PRESTON**: 7.45 p.m. Theatre Royal; George Lansbury, Canon Stuart Morris and Rev. J. W. Dumble (chairman); PPU.

### Monday, March 13

**BLACKBURN**: 7.45 p.m. YMCA, Limbrick; Rev. A. Knowles; PPU and Blackburn Fellowship of Christian Pacifists.

**BOURNEMOUTH**: 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Avenue Road; Mr. Cordell on "Posers for Pacifists"; PPU.

**BUNCORN**: 8 p.m. Cooperative Cafe, High Street; Dr. Maude Royden and Cnr. C. E. Brooker (chairman); PPU.

### Tuesday, March 14

**TOWER HILL**: 12.30 p.m. Open-air meeting; Andrew Stewart and John Barclay; City PPU group.

**LONDON, N.W.1**: 1.20 p.m. Friends House, Euston Road; N. R. Aman Ollenni on "The Education of an African"; Peace Committee of London Friends.

**BURNLEY**: 7.30 p.m. Mechanics Institute; James Riley on "The Pacifist Way to Collective Security"; PPU.

**HOLYHEAD**: 7.30 p.m. Presbyterian Church; Rev. G. Lloyd Phelps; FoR.

**DENTON**: 8 p.m. St. Hilda's Vicarage, Ashton Road; Miss Whitmore; PPU.

**HAYWARDS HEATH**: 8 p.m. Public Hall, South Road; Captain Philip Mumford, Rev. R. J. Hall and Marquis of Tavistock (chairman); PPU and FoR.

**STROUD**: 8 p.m. Subscription Rooms; Canon Stuart Morris, Miss Sybil Morrison and Rev. J. Alan Kay; PPU.

### Wednesday, March 15

**GREENHITH**, Kent: 8 p.m. Ingress Vale Congregational Church, Knockhall Road; vocal and instrumental concert in aid of WRI fund for refugees; tickets (6d.) from G. A. Dudney, 152 Knockhall Road, Greenwich.

**HACKNEY**: 8 p.m. 168 Middleton Road; augmented group meeting; Don Renton and R. H. Pownall (chairman); PPU.

**LONDON, N.W.1**: 8 p.m. Friends House, Euston Road; Rev. H. Inglis James and W. L. Williams; Christian Pacifist Party.

**WOKING**: 8 p.m. Labour Hall, Clarence Street; Mary Osborn on "Community—a new approach to the vital problems of to-day"; PPU.

### Thursday, March 16

**LONDON, W.C.1**: 3 p.m. YWCA Central Building, Great Russell Street; Lady Layton on "Cooperation with America for Peace"; Women's Peace Crusade.

**BIRMINGHAM**: 7.30 p.m. Shakespeare Rooms, Edmund Street; George Padmore; PPU.

**SMETHWICK**: 7.45 p.m. Crocketts Lane School; group, inaugural meeting; Henry Lennard and Sydney Conbeer; PPU.

**BRIGHTON**: 8 p.m. The Dome; Lord Ponsonby and Vera Brittain on "Constructive Peacemaking"; Dr. Crow (chairman); PPU.

**GLASGOW**: 8 p.m. Engineers' Institute, Elm Bank Crescent; Richard Ward; PPU.

**WEMBLEY**: 8 p.m. Wesley Hall, Park Lane Methodist Church; Canon Stuart Morris and P. Radley (chairman); PPU.

### Friday, March 17

**LONDON, W.C.1**: 6.30 p.m. Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, King's Weigh House, Thomas Street, Oxford Street; Cecil Wilson on "British Empire—what it is and what it will be"; PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1**: 8 p.m. Endsleigh Gardens; Lyn Harris on "Children and Peace"; PPU.

**NORBURY**: 8 p.m. Library, Beatrice Avenue; Wilfred Welloch on "Justice or War"; PPU.

**SHIRLEY**: 8 p.m. Benson School, West Way; Rev. Vincent Long on "Denmark"; PPU.

### Saturday, March 18

**HOLLOWAY**: 2.30 p.m. Cooperative Hall, Seven Sisters Road; Allan Skinner, S. Jackson, James H. Hudson and Cnr. Frank Stonham (chairman); Militant Labour League.

**BANGOR**: 2.30 and 5.30 p.m. Park Hill Schoolroom; conference and annual general meeting of North Wales groups; John Barclay, Lady Artemis Jones, Richard Bishop and Rev. J. P. Davies (chairman); PPU.

**LONDON, W.I.**: 7.45 p.m. Queen's Hall; petition rally; speakers to include George Lansbury, H. H. Elvin, Miss Vera Brittain, Miss E. M. Tanner and Dr. Cyril Bailey; selections by Fleet Street Choir; National Peace Council.

### Sunday, March 19

**CHATHAM**: 8 p.m. Unitarian Church, New Road; debate on "That armaments do not cause war" R. H. Bland and Eric Attwood; Snr. E. J. Risborough (chairman); PPU.

What does **PPU** stand for?

## 2. OBJECTS

**I**T is sometimes said that pacifism is a mere negation. But though it begins with the refusal to take part in war, it cannot and does not end there. For that reason Aldous Huxley wrote the first official pamphlet of the Peace Pledge Union. What are you going to do about it? explaining its aims and basis. The policy of the Peace Pledge Union arises out of the basis of membership which is the renunciation of the war method.

It is recognized that it is not sufficient merely to say "No" to war. The Peace Pledge Union presses for the immediate calling of a new world conference, at which representatives of all nations shall be invited to sit round the "family" table on terms of absolute equality, in order that their needs and grievances can be discussed. If we are to avoid war we must be prepared to discuss all the causes of possible war in a spirit of understanding and sympathy. Those who "have" must recognize their responsibility towards those who "have not." The PPU repudiates the war method whether used in self-defence, or in support of the League of Nations and collective security or in aggression.

The Peace Pledge Union is, therefore, anxious to include within its membership everyone who is ready to renounce war and live instead for peace.

The headquarters are at 6, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. The President is George Lansbury, M.P., the Treasurer, Maurice L. Rowntree, the Chairman (and secretary), Canon Stuart Morris, and the Group Organizer, John Barclay.

Give your pledge on a postcard:—  
I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to PPU headquarters

## FREEDOM FOR INDIA IN TWO YEARS?

(Continued from page 3)

independent in two years, "if we don't fall asleep," and if Federation is successfully resisted.

"We must have power in the Central Assembly, especially over army expenditure, and that is not contemplated in Federation," he said.

### ATTITUDE TO NON-VIOLENCE

To elucidate this I questioned several Congressmen as to whether they intended to adhere to *satyagraha* and non-violence in the international sphere if and when they get power at the centre. Their reply was invariably: "No, non-violence is only a method to be used by the under-dog to overthrow a government; it is useless for those who have to govern. We shall make munitions in India [Congress members of the Legislative Assembly have already asked questions on this point], and build up an Indian army as strong as that of any European country, as soon as we get power over central revenues."

Whatever Mr. Gandhi's ideal theory may be, his followers no longer trust it implicitly; they treat non-violence as a specifically Indian means to solve a specifically Indian problem. Mr. Gandhi's non-violence is to them tactical, nothing else, and its success depends on the popular reverence, peculiar to India, which is accorded to him in his capacity of national saint.

As regards foreign policy, too, there is distrust of Gandhism.

### ALLIANCE WITH HITLER?

In the gigantic struggle of present-day India toward a new state of things there are to be found not a few votaries of a fascist technique, or at least of an alliance with Germany, a country which is gaining in respect in India with every day that passes.

A leading person in Congress Socialist quarters told me in so many words that an entente with Herr Hitler was understood to be a means for securing the liberty of India in the near future.

In conclusion it may be pointed out that although it would be wholly wrong to picture Indian representative circles as the willing and ready allies of western pacifism, yet one meets in India as in Europe, especially among students, the dawn of a rational criticism of the prevailing nationalist doctrines, and a growing dissatisfaction with the entire lack of vision shown by the advocates of national rearmament.

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### HEALTH AND MEDICAL

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## What the Groups are Doing

(Continued from page 10)

DEBATES with local debating and literary societies are a very useful form of propaganda and two very successful ones have just been held by the Broadstairs and Faversham groups, on Rearmament and Collective Security.

A series of public meetings have been held in nearly every town in the East Kent Region since Christmas, arousing considerable interest everywhere, and resulting in several new members for the PPU and increased sale of *Peace News*, often making both known in the locality for the first time.

### Hastings' Poster Campaign

HASTINGS members have been making their presence felt again. On twenty-five hoardings in Hastings a specially printed poster appeared during the same week as one advertising a big call for National Service. It read, "But—International Service creates Trust."

Every woman going into the Cinema meeting where Lady Reading was to speak, had a handbill specially written for distribution at Women's Voluntary Service meetings, pointing out that by joining, one is becoming part of the war machine, and giving the alternative, constructive peace-making.

A fortnight ago, the group was responsible, in conjunction with the ILP for a large no conscription meeting at which John Barclay, John McNair and Ethel Mannin spoke.

For the next eight weeks, a network of meetings have been arranged in Village Halls throughout East Sussex, when members of the group are telling what the PPU stands for.

### Lewisham Annual Meeting

THE third annual general meeting of the Lewisham branch was held on Tuesday of last week. The chairman of the branch, L. H. Plummer, presided.

The secretary, A. Vincent, reported a year of great activity, which reached a peak in September during the crisis. This activity had not died down, and the poster parades, open-air meetings, and organized distribution of leaflets which had been a feature of 1938 were likely to be continued with redoubled vigour.

Reporting on propaganda, A. M. Sibun said that during the past year the PPU had really found its place on the map of Lewisham as a propagandist organization.

## Special Offer to "PEACE NEWS" Readers

Readers of "Peace News" have become interested in the I.L.P. because of its stand against War, Rearmament and the National Register. The "New Leader," organ of the I.L.P., vigorously voices these views each week. Every sincere Peace worker should see it. By using the attached coupon, you can get the "N.L." at the special rate of 2s. 6d. for six months, post free.

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### LECTURES

"THE GOOD LIFE AND THE LIBERAL TRADITION," by Professor C. E. M. Joad. Wednesday, March 15, at 8 p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1. Price 1s. F.P.S.I.

### MEETINGS, &c.

Fr. GERALD VANN, O.P., will give a talk on "The Complexity of the War Problem" to Pax members and others at The Holy Child Convent, 11 Cavendish Square, W.I., on Saturday, March 18, 3 p.m. Admission free. Inquiries invited.

### PRINTING

HANDBILLS from 3s. per 1,000. Attractively printed for your next public meeting. Size 7½ by 5. Satisfaction assured. Free delivery. Send for particulars and samples. C. F. Ducret, (PPU member), Cargreen Road, London, S.E.25.

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### CHRISTIAN PACIFIST PARTY.

## Pacifists and the Political Outlook

## OPEN MEETING

FRIENDS HOUSE, EUSTON RD., N.W.1

WEDNESDAY, MAR. 15th, at 8 p.m.

Speakers: Rev. H. INGLI JAMES

## The Milkman and The Bombers

The spring sun seemed the best cure for the after-effects of 'flu, and I stepped out into the village street, curious about the world and a bit wobbly in the legs like a new-born lamb. A glorious day indeed—and therefore an ideal day for the bombing planes.

There they came, scores of new planes in mass formation, from the aerodrome nearby. I had just counted up to fifty when a milk-cart drew up. The milkman was an old acquaintance, never before known to say more than pass the time of day.

He burst into unexpected speech. Wasn't it terrible to see all those things up in the sky there practising to kill people? Supposing each of those planes were carrying only four bombs apiece and dropped them on London. Where would the people go? What would happen to the kiddies even in a little place like this, where they had actually dug trenches in the gardens and got gas masks distributed last September? What was the use of it, anyhow? If we did win the war, what would be left and who would gain anything? These quarrels ought to be settled by arbitration. . . . And much more, quite unanswerable truth to the same effect.

It is this revolt against war, among people who have never thought much about politics, that will end the next war; it was this common-sense refusal to kid yourself that any good could ever come out of another war that used to be the strength of the Labour Party in this country. How Labour is to recapture this sentiment I do not know.

—“Critic” in *The New Statesman and Nation*, March 4.

## Anti-Conscription Campaign in Glasgow

**A**N appeal by Mr. James H. Hudson for membership of the No Conscription League met with such a large response at a “no conscription” meeting in the City Hall, Glasgow, on Sunday that 120 people stayed at the end of the meeting and constituted a West of Scotland branch of the League.

A Scottish convention is shortly to be organized by the committee which included several Glasgow Labour City councillors, MPs and representatives of the ILP and the Scottish Socialist Party.

The meeting had been addressed by Mr. James Maxton, Mr. Neil Maclean and Mr. Hudson, with Baillie A. H. Porter in the chair.

“To fight and win a war will not settle our problems,” Mr. Maxton said. “They will still be there after the war with new ones added. Refuse to organize for war, and refuse to accept the suggestion that it is only in this way that the people can be of national service.”

The war against poverty—the only war in which he believed—was dealt with by Mr. Neil Maclean. “If we have sufficient wealth to spend in four or five years £1,600,000,000 on war preparations, then this country has wealth enough to spend the same amount upon reconstruction in our own country,” he said.

Mr. Hudson told the Glasgow workmen that if any one of them thought he was doing National Service by building ships or bringing up his children to be decent citizens, he would soon be shown his mistake. Service was truly national. “If you take a sword and draw it and go stick a fellow through”

## Pacifist Newspaper in France

The newspaper to be founded by M. Paul Faure and his friends in the French Socialist Party will not be a daily, as was originally reported from Paris. Entitled *Le Pays Socialiste*, it will be published weekly and will advocate a pacifist policy.

M. Faure is secretary-general of the party in which he leads an important pacifist minority.

**I**ndian Speakers in Newcastle

That the ideals of peace and world brotherhood could not be achieved by armaments was emphasized by Professor H. M. Jacob, of the Union Christian College, Alwaye, Madras, when he addressed two thousand people in the City Hall, Newcastle, last Thursday.

Professor Jacob, who was one of the Madras team of speakers visiting Newcastle, said that the Indian Christian was forsaking the ways of violence and finding Gandhi's non-violent resistance the true spirit of Christianity.

The meeting was also addressed by two other members of the team, the Revs. Sheffield Cheng and Ronald Rees.

### CORRECTION

We regret that the caption to the picture on the front page last week wrongly read “A Square Peg in a Round Hole.” Since it showed a youth standing in a grave the familiar proverb should, of course, have been adapted to read: “A Round Peg in a Square Hole.”

## A Pacifist Commentary

# Result of Mr. Gandhi's Fast :: Arms Hold Up Social Services :: New Offer by Hitler?

**T**HE immediate result of Mr. Gandhi's fast, which ended on Tuesday, was to secure the intervention of the Viceroy in the Rajkot dispute, and the subsequent indication that the ruler of Rajkot, Butter.

Thakor Saheb, will fulfil his original promise of December 26 to form a committee to report on and recommend a scheme of reforms for his State.

When Mr. Gandhi began his fast he had indicated that the ruler should revert to the position which existed on December 26. The ruler had maintained that additional demands made by Mr. Gandhi since then had led him to reject Mr. Gandhi's proposals altogether, while Mr. Gandhi's case was that the ruler's amplification, after December 26, of his intentions amounted to a breach of faith. This question of breach of faith will now be submitted to the Chief Justice of India, the highest judicial authority in the land.

As Mr. Gandhi has now told the Viceroy, there are other matters still awaiting satisfaction, but he has agreed that these can await mutual discussion.

The Viceroy has shown a greater appreciation of the problem than did the Under-Secretary for India, who, outlining the position in Parliament, spoke as though the Rajkot crisis had suddenly arisen on March 2, when “Mr. Gandhi sent an ultimatum to the ruler of Rajkot State suggesting that he should set up a committee to recommend a scheme of constitutional advance in the State.”

If that was really the belief of the India Office it could have been corrected by the deputation of three pacifist MPs (Mr. George Lansbury, the Rev. R. Sorenson, and Mr. Cecil Wilson) who tried to see Lord Zetland, Secretary of State for India, on Monday night, on behalf of the Parliamentary Committee of the India League. Lord Zetland, unfortunately, was unable to receive them.

## Palestine Plan

**A**CLOSER definition of the British proposals for the future Government of Palestine is now to be expected. The original suggestions, as well as Arab counter-proposals, have been the subject of further discussion. The Jewish Conference Committee has also considered possible counter-proposals.

It appears, however, that if the Government intends to safeguard the future growth of the Jewish National Home—on which point further clarification has been demanded—the Jews might agree to discuss plans involving the end of the Mandate.

For an indication as to whether we are nearer the creation of an independent Palestine, and the satisfaction of legitimate Arab needs, we must await the next pronouncement of the British Government.

## Money for Arms

**T**HE total of the Estimates for “defence,” completed by the issue of the Air Estimates for 1939/40 last week, will bring home to the people of Britain what rearmament is going to cost them.

The amounts shown for the three Services and for civil defence total £573,084,000, and thus exceed the Estimates for the Civil and Revenue Departments by £127,084,000—an unprecedented ratio in peace time.

Already the cost of armaments is being quoted as an excuse for not increasing old-age pensions. Other social services will suffer a like fate—and may in fact be “axed”—as the armaments are piled up at an ever-increasing rate.

On the day before Air Estimates were issued, showing a record expenditure, Field-Marshal Göring was boasting of Germany's air power. “Just as for England,” he said, “the Navy must be decisive, so Germany needs an uncontestedly superior Air Force. That we possess and shall continue to possess in future.”

The theory seems to be that if these con-

This muddle-headed idea is not, it seems, confined to Germany; nor, as we are beginning to learn, is the slogan of “Guns before butter.”

Thakor Saheb, will fulfil his original promise of December 26 to form a committee to report on and recommend a scheme of reforms for his State.

## Hitler & the Colonies

**I**F a report in the *Daily Express* last week proves to be correct, Hitler has drawn up a three-point colonial plan under which he will offer arms limitations and pacts of non-aggression in a “general settlement of which colonial territory for the Reich would be an integral part.”

“A high official of the Wilhelmstrasse” was quoted by the *Daily Express* as its source of information. Hitler's new policy, it was stated, “foresees a solution of Germany's colonial problems in three stages:

“1. Britain and France to renounce the colonial guilt lie anchored in the Treaty of Versailles, which, alleging that Germany was unfit to have colonies, was the basis for the transfer of the territories.

“2. Britain and France to admit Germany's right to colonial possessions as sources of raw materials.

“3. Redistribution of colonies and the return to Germany of colonial possessions.”

The redistribution of colonial territories is not considered as a solution of the problem by those who maintain that the present rulers have no more right to give them away than they had to occupy them in the first place. This, however, does not alter the fact that if the new plan materializes and is cold-shouldered by the British Government it will provide Hitler with yet another reason for telling the Germans that the democracies are not interested in doing justice to Germany.

Continued failure even to discuss grievances can only still further embitter international relations, already poisoned by the suspicions and rivalries evoked by the arms race.

Such suspicions will not be lessened by Lord Zetland's amazing speech at Liverpool last week, in which he said:

“Germany has it within her power to bring this insane race in armaments to an end by the simple expedient of crying a halt to her own feverish concentration on rearmament.

“She wants equality; well, so do we. She will find us more than willing to discuss with her at the conference table all such matters as are of common concern to our respective countries.”

For, although General Göring has himself said that Germany started the armaments race, Herr Hitler has time and again offered to reduce German arms to any level also accepted by other nations. Neglect to take these offers at their face value is inexcusable; coupled with the absence of an initiative from the British side, it can only serve to justify Hitler in the eyes of his countrymen.

## Where Britain Bombs

**B**OMBING in China, Spain, and Abyssinia has often brought vociferous expressions of “righteous indignation” from certain circles in Britain. But news from India last week showed that on the North-West

Frontier of India Britain has little to learn from the invaders of Ethiopia.

A squadron leader of the RAF has been awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross “for conspicuous gallantry in dispersing from the air a tribal *lashkar* which attacked Datta Khel post, in Waziristan.”

Tribesmen were attacking the post in question on February 5 when the airman arrived and attacked them with bomb and machine-gun. Although four tribesmen were either killed or injured, and one of their two guns damaged, two nights later they launched a similar attack. Once again the airman went to tackle them.

His flights are officially regarded as “a splendid example of skill and devotion to duty under fire.”

## The End in Spain?

**T**HOUGH supporters of the Spanish Republican cause have maintained that the population of the unconquered territory was behind the Negrin Government, its substitution by the National Council of Defence seems to have the support of everyone in Republican territory except the Communists.

The policy of the new administrators is described as one of peace based on justice and conciliation, but determination to continue fighting if Spanish independence is not guaranteed. Since the prospects of its achieving its aims by further fighting are exceeding remote, it would appear that this “determination” is expressed for home consumption. It is not unlikely that negotiations with General Franco have been proceeding in secret, and that the conclusion of an open armistice will soon follow.

The passions whipped up by the war have prevented the adoption of other tactics by the new Republican leaders. It is certain that no other course would benefit Spain.

## “Peaceful” A.R.P.

**P**ARLIAMENT itself has driven the last nail into the coffin of the hope that air raid precautions are not part of the military machine.

It has approved a motion “to include in the expression ‘defence services’ the following civil services, namely, air-raid precautionary services and grants-in-aid of the Essential Commodities Reserves Fund.”

## Democracy, or Aiding the Process of Government

An admirer of Sir William Alexander, MP for the Central Division of Glasgow, has sent the following to *Forward*:

“In these days when Glasgow in the eyes of the world is regarded merely as a place which produces Socialist MPs who bring nothing but discredit to the fair name of our beloved city, it is a pleasure to bring to your attention Sir William Alexander, MP, who, alas, is not offering himself for re-election.

“Sir William is a pleasant contrast to our Reds who take an unwholesome delight in bombarding the Front Bench with questions and so impede the process of Government.

“He never even attempts to catch the Speaker's eye; indeed, that would be difficult, for he is seldom, if ever, in the House of Commons. Not only can he lay claim to the title of ‘inaudible Man,’ but also to that of ‘Invisible Man.’”

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